

The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings

The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings

*A Reconstruction of the Chronology
of the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah*

By
Edwin R. Thiele



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PREFACE

FOR more than two thousand years Hebrew chronology has been a serious problem for Old Testament scholars. Every effort to weave the chronological data of the kings of Israel and Judah into some sort of harmonious scheme seemed doomed to failure. The numbers for the one kingdom could not, it seemed, be made to agree with the numbers of the other. The data concerning the synchronisms appeared in hopeless contradiction with the data as to the lengths of reign. Dates established upon the Biblical numbers seemed to be constantly out of line with the dates of Israel's neighbors.

All through the ages, however, the unexplained mysteries of Hebrew chronology have strangely intrigued Biblical scholars. Baffled and bewildered though they often were, they did not give up the attempt to solve the vexing problems of Old Testament chronology. The mystic numbers of the kings must at length be made to reveal their secrets. The frequency with which studies on this subject have continued to appear is indicative of the sustained interest in this problem and of the unceasing urge to bring it to a successful solution.

As long as Old Testament study remains the serious subject that it is, and as long as chronology retains so vital a place in this field of study, so long efforts to solve the seemingly inscrutable riddle of Hebrew chronology will be in order. This is outstandingly so in the period of the monarchies of Israel and Judah when so many of the writings of the Old Testament came into being, and when Hebrew history was so closely in touch with the stirring events of the ancient East.

The establishment of the correct chronology of a nation is always a matter of some importance, and in the case of the Hebrews—in view of the important role they have played in world events throughout the ages—this is particularly true.

The greatest drawback in the study of Old Testament chronology has been, and still remains, a tendency to hold to certain preconceived opinions without first endeavoring to ascertain just what the Hebrews did in the matter of chronological procedure. Altogether too often we formulate our own conclusions as to what they did or should have done, and then, without sufficient evidence, we en-

deavor to produce chronological schemes in accord with our own predetermined ideas, only to be led into impossible impasses and hopeless confusion. Instead of such a priori methods we must approach the work of the ancient Hebrew chronologists with an open mind, examining fairly and objectively what they did, and on the basis of the facts, build our interpretation of the data they have left for us. The only basis for a sound chronology of the period to be discussed is a completely unbiased use of the Biblical statements in the light of all other knowledge we can bring to bear upon this problem, notably the history and chronology of the ancient near East.

The problem is one with which I wrestled long before vague outlines of a solution began to clarify in my mind. At first I went on the natural supposition that Israel and Judah had alike employed identical chronological methods and had begun their regnal years at the same time. But I could reach no satisfactory results. At length further study revealed clues and hints of a far different situation, which I have set forth in detail in the pages of this study. These proved to be the key that opened the way for further advance. But there remained hosts of knotty questions which had to be undertaken in succession; and only slowly and through constant re-criticism of my results have I been able to arrive at the conclusions which I now present to Old Testament scholars and the Bible reading public in general. Those who are familiar with my preliminary study published in *JNES*, III (1944), 137ff., will be in a position to observe that although the main lines of my position as then attained have stood up under the criticism which I have since given it, yet at several points I have advanced beyond my results of six years ago, and have, I believe, succeeded in throwing further light on this complex but very important issue.

All the early work was necessarily in the nature of an experimental approach on an explorative quest. Without deciding a priori that either the data regarding the synchronisms or the lengths of reign must necessarily be late and probably largely in error, the endeavor was made to ascertain whether there might exist some method of chronological procedure whereby the numbers which seemed so obviously and hopelessly contradictory might be fitted together into a harmonious pattern of reigns. Since it was known beforehand that any reconstructed pattern of the Hebrew kings must, if it was to be indeed the original arrangement of reigns, be in complete agreement with every fixed date in Near Eastern history at which exact contact with Hebrew history could be established, no dates were

used in the early pattern produced. In this way there would be no inclination, as certain fairly well-established dates in Hebrew history were being approached, to endeavor to modify the pattern one way or another to cause it to conform to preconceived ideas of what it ought to be at those points, and the completed pattern, when tested by the ascertained dates of synchronisms with Near Eastern history, would thus provide its own fairest and severest test as to accuracy and fidelity. Thus as the pattern was being developed there was no knowledge of the date B.C. of any event or king. Nor were figures used to give an indication of the over-all passage of time. To have inserted such numbers would have been extremely simple, for the pattern being developed showed the years of reign for all kings of Israel and Judah as they interlinked with each other, but the use of such numbers might again have resulted in an effort at adjustments as certain strategic points were reached. The aim was to produce a system if possible in which the reigns of the kings were arranged in harmony with the data both as to synchronisms and lengths of reign, and then, on the completion of such a pattern, to test the results by a comparison with the established dates of contemporary history.

Thus the pattern to be set forth in this volume was begun with the reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam and was carried on to Hezekiah and Hoshea, without knowledge as to the over-all passage of time involved, and with the supreme test as to the correctness of this pattern to come at the end by a comparison with the dates of contemporary events. Not until the preliminary pattern had been completed from Rehoboam to Hezekiah inclusive, and from Jeroboam to Hoshea, was an effort made to supply dates for the reigns of the kings.

In the pattern as it then existed there was a harmonious arrangement of reigns according to the data of Kings for both the synchronisms and the lengths of reign except for the two synchronisms of II Kings 15:32 and 16:1, for the accessions of Jotham and Ahaz. On the pattern as it then stood, Hoshea came to the throne in a year which was both the twentieth year of Jotham and the twelfth year of Ahaz, according to the synchronisms of II Kings 15:30 and 17:1, and Hezekiah began to reign in the third year of Hoshea, in harmony with II Kings 18:1. Jotham, however, on that pattern came to the throne in the same year as did Pekah in Israel, the year of Azariah's death, and not in Pekah's second year as called for by the synchronism of II Kings 15:32, and Ahaz began his reign

in the eighth instead of the seventeenth year of Pekah as called for by the synchronism of II Kings 16:1. Otherwise an arrangement of reigns had been secured in harmony with all the data of Kings, but for these latter two synchronisms no arrangement could be produced that would at the same time be in agreement with all other specifications.

It was at this stage that the first endeavor was made to introduce absolute dates into the over-all pattern of reigns and to test the results. The earliest known synchronisms between Hebrew and Assyrian history were the Battle of Qarqar in the sixth year of Shalmaneser III at which Ahab fought in his last year according to my arrangement of reigns, and the payment of tribute by Jehu in the year of his accession, to Shalmaneser III in the latter's eighteenth year. According to the pattern of Assyrian chronology which I then followed, 854 was the date for the Battle of Qarqar and 842 was the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III. On that basis the year of Ahab's death was given the date 854 and the year of Jehu's accession was 842. From these two basic dates, other dates were supplied back to the time of the disruption and down to the reigns of Hoshea and Hezekiah.

To my surprise and dismay the fourteenth year of Hezekiah on this pattern turned out to be 702 instead of 701, as should have been the case by a comparison with Assyrian chronology at that point, and the last year of Hoshea and the fall of Samaria was 711. A careful review of the pattern from beginning to end indicated that if the data then followed were to remain the basis of the arrangement of reigns, no adjustment for the reign of any king of either Judah or Israel was possible. A careful investigation into the exact dates of Assyrian history, however, revealed the unexpected evidence that 853 rather than 854 was the correct date for Qarqar and that 841 rather than 842 was the true date for the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III. With such an adjustment for the dates of Ahab and Jehu, the fourteenth year of Hezekiah was found to be 701 instead of 702, a date which was absolutely correct as evidenced by Assyrian chronology. But the date for the fall of Samaria then became 710, some twelve years after the city fell according to Sargon's claims.

The next step was a careful study of the synchronistical data of II Kings 15 and 16 in connection with the data of II Kings 17 and 18. This resulted in a pattern in which harmony was secured for the synchronisms of II Kings 15:32 and 16:1, providing the date 723/22

for the last year of Hoshea and Samaria's fall, and the still more surprising results discussed in Chapters VI and VII of this volume.

Let it be repeated that the pattern of reigns herein set forth was in no wise the product of certain arbitrary adjustments to secure a series of predetermined results, but that it consisted rather of a quest to ascertain whether or not the numbers now found in Kings could be brought together into some harmonious arrangement of reigns, and whether or not such an arrangement once produced was in harmony with the established dates of Near Eastern history. It is these results that are set forth in the pages to follow.

In the presentation of this study the endeavor has been made to keep in mind such readers as might be interested in the results achieved, whether laymen or ministers, students or teachers, undergraduates or graduates—any to whom the problems of Old Testament chronology might present an appeal.

For the results achieved, I wish to acknowledge first and foremost my indebtedness to my former teacher, Professor William A. Irwin, head of the section of Old Testament in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago. To a large degree the consideration that gave rise to this present study was provided by Professor Irwin's keen analysis and stimulating presentation of Old Testament problems. It was in Professor Irwin's discussion of the chronological problems of the Hebrew kings that I first came to sense seriously the need for an effort to bring some sort of order out of the prevailing chaos regarding the chronological data of the rulers of Judah and Israel. If there is anything in this volume that may contribute to the solution of this vexing problem, I owe it in large measure to the inspiration, instruction, and encouragement of Professor Irwin. To him I am also under obligation for a critical reading of the manuscript of this volume.

To Professor George G. Cameron of the University of Michigan I am likewise indebted for much of encouragement and many suggestions as well as for a reading of the manuscript. At times when the going was hard and it seemed as if certain aspects of the problem were beyond solution, Professor Cameron provided encouragement and inspiration that kept the quest under way. To him I will ever be grateful.

To Professors Richard A. Parker of Brown University and Raymond A. Bowman and F. W. Geers of the University of Chicago, I likewise wish to express my gratitude for suggestions and contri-

butions at times specific but often intangible and pervasive yet nonetheless helpful.

If this volume may contribute in some small way to a better understanding of the Old Testament and the amazing story of Israel's religious experience so full of meaning for our own troubled day, I shall feel amply repaid for the effort put forth.

EDWIN R. THIELE

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INTRODUCTION

IT HAS been well said that chronology is the one sure basis of accurate historical knowledge. History, it is true, is much more than tables of dates and lists of events; these are merely annals, but history must set all in a coherent and meaningful structure of change and development. Nonetheless, to the extent that the historian is deprived of accurate dating his results grow proportionately vague and uncertain. They become, one might say, a collection of mental antiquities, interesting and possibly beautiful, but nothing more than curios, until touched by magic like that of the trained museologist who arranges his disparate pieces in a cultural sequence. Then they tell to every chance observer a thrilling story of endeavor and achievement, and across the gulf of millennia, we sense the toil and hopes and common routine through common days of men in a remote time, whom we greet as brothers and comrades in the age-long struggle for better things.

Into the *disjecta membra*, the museum pieces as it were, of events, the chronologist brings the illumination of time and sequence. And the erstwhile tales of "old forgotten, far off things, and battles long ago," mere entertainment to pique an idle mood, marshal in serried ranks and deploy against the circumstances and perplexities of the present. The matter is clarified by a contrast. An older history of Babylonia begins its narration with mention of three fragments of a vase of Utug, patesi of Kish, that were found on the mound of Nippur at "a great depth beneath the pavements of very early kings," and then moves on to Mesilim who followed Utug at Kish "though we do not know how great was the interval." This is not history, nor did the author suppose it to be. Fortunately subsequent discoveries in the plain of Babylonia have reduced our ignorance, and have gone far in linking up available facts in a connected sequence. Nonetheless, it must be admitted that long stretches of history of the lands of the ancient East are yet dark ages. But, the chronology of its later periods is definitely fixed, and investigations are steadily pushing farther back the limits of our precise knowledge. Isolated events can thus be fitted into the entire circumstance and movement of their time, and take on a relevance denied them as atomistic occurrences. They become historic.

There are yet considerable periods of the life of ancient Israel where the careful student is at pains to confess his deep ignorance. What can be written, for example, of the time from the work of Ezra to the rise of the tensions that presently eventuated in the Maccabean struggle? The period is historic; for the wider Orient, events and their dating are well known. But for Jewish history we lack both. All we can affirm is that highly important developments were in process, so that when presently the veil of obscurity lifts, it is a very different Judaism that meets the eyes. But of definite incident and personal achievement to fit into the succession of the years we know next to nothing. Very different is the problem of the time of the Judges. For it is rich in dramatic and significant events; but, notwithstanding an increasing precision in the chronology of the greater political centers of that time, the Hebrew stories can be dated only in wide and sweeping generalizations. The incidents that gave rise to the Samson stories must have occurred, it is apparent, subsequent to the settlement of the Philistines on the coastal plain in the first decade of the twelfth century. The story of Micah and his "house of gods" and the migration of the Danites is dated by the same event. The attack on Gibeah is attested in the excavations at Tell el Ful; but it is seldom that archaeological dating, if devoid of written finds, can do more than indicate a period, a half or quarter century, or happily a decade. In this vague way one may attach a loose timing to most of the Judges stories. But that is our utmost at present. Efforts to demonstrate an accurate chronology simply do no merit serious consideration. And so, we cannot write the history of the time. Who knows, for example, whether the exploit of Ehud at Jericho preceded or followed that of Gideon at Mount Tabor, and whether there was a relation between them more intimate than mere sequence? Vague generalizations can be brought to bear on the question, but strict chronology defies us, and history is impossible.

Even when attention moves on to the times of David and Solomon we encounter a similar frustration. There are events in considerable wealth, in particular for the reign of David: all the rich personal episodes, related by the world's first great historian. And for the time of Solomon, too, quite apart from the great royal enterprise in building, there are numerous hints and allusions that tantalize the historian with glimpses of significant movements. But we have no chronology, scarcely a scheme of sequences. We toilsomely construct an outline of the major events of the time, but the inner moti-

vation, a real understanding of that notable period, is at the best no more than vaguely discerned, at the worst it quite eludes us. If we could with reasonable certainty set one incident after another in its correct timing we would have taken a major step toward grasping the policies of these two, Israel's grand monarchs.

Out of such bafflement one turns eagerly to the records of the immediately succeeding centuries, the time from the disruption under the ill-starred Rehoboam until the extinction of the two rival kingdoms, the north in 723/22 and the south in 586 B.C. For every reader of the Bible knows that king after king is carefully dated according to the regnal years of his contemporary with lengths of reign in each case, and occasionally further synchronisms as well. Clearly the Hebrew historians had awakened to the importance of chronology; here at length we have something to serve well our purpose. The rich prospect seems limited only by the too meager political content of the Books of Kings. They delay over the temple and other building by Solomon, and include the famous stories of Elijah and Elisha and the colorful episodes of Jehu's revolt, but too often provide us with no more than a compact summary of a single strand of events through decades, and at times half a century or more. Yet the promise, whatever it may be, all too soon fades. The chronology of these books is such as to have provided a favorite source for those who would demonstrate the inaccuracy of the Bible. What can one say of a system that contradicts itself? For the totals of the years of the kings in the sister kingdoms diverge notably in the two precisely delimited periods provided by Jehu's revolt and the fall of Samaria. Through the first of these, the Judean kings, according to the record, reigned less years than did the Israelite; in the second, the situation is reversed—and general chronology shows that both totals are wrong! Surely this is the nadir of historicity. But here is yet another "blunder" which every tyro in Biblical history seizes upon. Sometime in the ten-year reign of Menahem he paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser of Assyria (II Kings 15:19); the date has commonly been given as 738 B.C., but Professor Thiele shows that it must be carried back to 743 or 742. This will then be approximately twenty years before the destruction of Samaria in 723/22. But into that period the Biblical record compresses the balance of the reign of Menahem, the two years of Pekahiah, the twenty years of Pekah, and the nine of Hoshea—a total of thirty-one years apart from the unstated years of Menahem!

These are samples of more glaring "errors" of the Biblical records;

but they are not all, for as examination moves on to greater and greater detail the seeming inconsistencies multiply. Is it remarkable, then, that serious students have given up the problem in despair, concluding that the Biblical chronology of the times of the kings is notable most of all for its undependability—it has value, it can serve as a guide, but precision defies the student, a fact declared by the chaos of results revealed by comparison of reputable histories of Israel? No serious student charges that the Hebrew historians were willfully dishonest; it is merely that they had not evolved an accurate system. And we should realize their difficulties. For although a sense of need of an era for dating was early, and repeatedly, manifest in the Orient, it was not until relatively late times that one was established which received wide recognition; even then it never attained a status comparable with the chronology of the Christian era, which we are prone to accept, like the sunlight, as commonplace. The great cultures of the ancient East had long wrestled with the problems of chronology, and had attained results of greater or less dependability; notably the Assyrian system provides us with an absolute chronology, fixed by modern astronomical calculations. But the Hebrews—so the thinking goes—were one of the minor peoples of the ancient world, and their chronology, like many other aspects of their culture, was inferior, and owed what merits it may have possessed to borrowings from mighty neighbors.

Whatever the errors or excesses of this sort of reasoning, no one may dismiss it as merely an expression of the pettifogging criticism of a “modern” mood. For every serious student of the problem knows that the devout Jews who translated the Old Testament into Greek in the immediately pre-Christian centuries held a comparable view. They altered the dates given in the Hebrew text, apparently in an effort to smooth out their inconsistencies. And Josephus, writing in the first century of our era, did the same, though with results different from those of the Greek translation.

All this the reader will find in greater detail and lucidity in Professor Thiele’s presentation. It has been of value, however, to delay over it here, for it provides a foil and background to his results. For the astonishing fact is that he demonstrates conclusively the precise and dependable accuracy of Hebrew chronology of the times of the kingdoms. This, it is true, is no more than has long been claimed by students of the Bible who incline to traditional views, although it is well to observe that the support they claim from tradition is seriously qualified by the testimony of the Greek version and of

Josephus, just now mentioned. Nonetheless, they accept the Biblical figures as absolute, and are willing to be forced thereby into positions that others consider a defiance of incontestable facts. The unique feature of Professor Thiele's work is that he has attained his results by the most rigid application of scholarly facts and methods. Bringing to bear upon the problem all relevant knowledge of the history and chronology of the ancient Orient, and whatever is provided by the most approved methods of Biblical study, he has yet shown that the seeming inconsistencies and mathematical contradictions no more than hinted at above, really are nothing of the sort, but integral elements in a sound and accurate chronological system. He does admit, it is true, that something has happened to confuse the chronology through much of the latter half of the eighth century. What is one to do, for example, when the accession of Hezekiah is dated both in the sixth year before the fall of Samaria in 723/22 (II Kings 18:10) and in the fourteenth before Sennacherib's invasion of Judah in 701 B.C. (II Kings 18:13)? It is, too, a mark of his precision that he notes a seeming discrepancy in a matter of days between the accounts in II Kings and the Book of Jeremiah (II Kings 25:8, cf. Jer. 52:12; II Kings 25:27, cf. Jer. 52:31), for which he is unable to offer a solution. Apart from these matters, the records are uncannily precise. The trouble has been that we didn't know how to use them!

The measure of Professor Thiele's indebtedness to previous investigators he himself declares. And it is obvious that lacking a familiarity with all that has gone before, his results, however brilliant, would fall short of conviction. For every reader would say, "Call now Hushai the Archite also, and let us hear likewise what he saith." Scholarship is a great co-operative endeavor in which each worker, standing as it were on the shoulders of all who have gone before, stretches up to grasp more than they could reach. And certainty—or such measure of certainty as is possible for our fallible human processes—emerges out of the conflict and seeming confusion where interpretation meets interpretation in mortal conflict, and truth is the only arbiter. Professor Thiele here learns from all who have preceded him, but at the same time gives battle to all comers. His fair interpretations along with the incisiveness of his criticisms—always reinforced with ascertained facts—will suffice to show the inadequacy of other treatments of Israel's chronology, down to the latest of them. But then the validity of his own findings rests on the simple fact that they work! They take account of all the data provided by the Biblical

record, and organize them in a system that is rational, consistent, and precise, and coheres likewise with all that is known of relevant chronology of the entire world of the Bible. Let us repeat for emphasis: the striking feature of Professor Thiele's illumination of this erstwhile insoluble riddle is its high scholarship, and appeal only to scholarly considerations. It moves with the ease and certitude of the master among the facts and methods of historiography as it relates to the ancient Orient; it repudiates the special pleading that with shoddy devices has sought to make Biblical chronology a world apart; at the same time it employs all the Biblical data, and apart from the small strand of contradictory dates spoken of above, builds them, even the most inconsistent, into a unity that is convincing by virtue of its utter simplicity and reasonableness.

Yet this does not exhaust the contribution of Professor Thiele's study. Concerned though it may appear to be with mere mathematical calculations, and with dates and calendrical systems, it actually reveals at many points inner motivation and circumstances of the political life of Israel for which, every historian realizes, our records are tantalizingly meager. The statement in II Kings that Jehoash began to reign in Israel in the thirty-seventh year of Joash of Judah, a commonplace remark which most readers have probably passed over with little thought, provides for Professor Thiele's exact computations the clue to demonstrate that in this period the Northern Kingdom had revised its system of regnal dating, and further, that this was a concession to the rising power of Assyria, which within the century was to sweep Israel away as with a flood. Even more rich for the historian is the information carefully deduced from the innocent starting point that "All the people of Judah took Azariah, who was sixteen years old, and made him king instead of his father Amaziah" (II Kings 14:21), for it is shown that this came about not as a sequel to the assassination of the old king, but instead only six years after his accession when, as a young man, his impetuosity had led him into a disastrous campaign against the kingdom of Israel (vss. 8-14). Similarly it is shown that we must take account of Manasseh's elevation at the age of twelve to a coregency with his father Hezekiah, because of the latter's ill health. Somewhat different in kind is the discovery of the date of termination of the reign of Tibni, who disputed with Omri for the throne of Israel.

Still, most readers will feel that the major by-product of Professor Thiele's careful study is more striking. He has taken passages com-

monly regarded as patent disclosures of carelessness, if not of ignorance, on the part of the Hebrew historians, and has shown them to be astonishingly reliable. It is an achievement of far-reaching significance. We have, it is true, come some distance from the radical criticism of half a century ago. In treatment of the text and in appraisal of the historic reliability of the records we are in a much more cautious mood, as we have seen at one uncertain point after another our skepticism dissipate under new-found facts. But yet many uncertainties remain. And it is a matter of first rate importance to learn now that the Books of Kings are reliable in precisely that feature which formerly excited only derision.

Similar are the implications in regard to the long process through which the Biblical writings have come down to us. Here too we have learned caution through our mistakes. It has been a sobering experience to discover that in some cases the text of the Old Testament passages has been preserved and accurately transmitted by the scribes, apparently for ages, after they had lost the meaning of the words which they copied. And Professor Thiele's findings enforce this result. He has shown that suspicion of the accuracy of the received text actually arose in pre-Christian times and is fully evidenced in manuscripts of the Septuagint, and then later in the work of Josephus; and further in his account of recent theories in regard to Hebrew chronology he has pointed out how the latest of these proceeds on the basis that "it is incredible that all these numbers can have been handed down through so many editors and copyists without often becoming corrupt." But Professor Thiele demonstrates conclusively that in reality they were so handed down "without often becoming corrupt." The vast bulk of them are precise to the point of astonishment, and the few errors that crept in are such as actually to enhance the reliability of the copyists, for with one exception they form a consistent pattern. And the amusing fact is that this one passage where error in transmission seems to have occurred—a real "corruption"—is exactly the one on which this latest theory just now mentioned bases its entire reconstruction!

In brief statement, then, Professor Thiele's work contributes very significantly both to our respect for the accuracy of the Hebrew historians and to a growing confidence in the soundness of the long process through which generation after generation of scribes handed on the sacred text to succeeding ages. No one who has wrestled seriously with the problems of Biblical history or of textual criticism will

be in danger of carrying either result to a foolish extreme; but it is a wholesome corrective for Old Testament scholarship as a whole to have the demonstration here provided.

The larger implications of this situation will be variously interpreted. Some will seize upon it as one more evidence of the foolishness and frustration of "the critics"—little knowing who the critics are or what they seek. The great bulk of Biblical scholarship will welcome it, and without revolution find a place for it in their systems of Biblical thinking. For, whatever limitations in the Biblical record they have admitted, they have sought only the truth and have long since been inured to readjusting their thinking to discoveries which have shaken various of their views. True scholarship abjures dogmatism. It recognizes the relativity of all things human, aware that all our conclusions, even the most basic, are conditioned by very limited knowledge. The so-called "laws of nature" rest upon nothing better than our observation, through a relatively minute moment of time, of processes which constitute only a part of the total of the reality of the universe—how great or small that part is, relative to the whole, again we do not know. As time goes on and these processes are seen to be consistent and dependable, the probability increases in similar proportion that our interpretation of them is reliable. But we shall never attain finality until we reach the total of truth—which obviously lies beyond human capacities. For a variety of reasons this ultimate uncertainty is greater in humanistic studies, where clearly the study of the Bible takes its place. The Biblical scholar, in so far as he has felt the greatness and complexity of his task, is most of all ready to confess the things he does not know. His views and conclusions are held tentatively; against every one of them he writes the qualifications, "in so far as I can see at present." It is then no shock or hardship for him to abandon long held positions. He is eager to do so—as soon as convincing reasons are presented to him. His concern is for truth.

But this does not mean that the immense activity of Biblical scholars is futile, always and totally failing to arrive at worthy results. Only those ignorant of its methods and results would ever entertain for a moment such a view. Out of the confusion of theory and counter theory, and the conflict of debate, little by little Biblical scholarship through the years has been building its structure of meaning. Such theories, readily abandoned as truth advances, and commonly exciting scorn on the part of the ill-informed, are the scaffolding of construction. They are a mark of health and vigor. And the building is steadily

going up. Even were it otherwise, what alternative have we? To rest secure in ancient opinion is not a solution of the problem, but only its repudiation. Ancient opinion may be held after it has been subjected to searching, unrelenting examination, and found dependable—as commonly it is. Otherwise it is a snare and deception. Truth is absolute, and can be found only by the fallible methods of human research and confirmation.

Professor Thiele has made an important contribution to our common quest of truth.

WILLIAM A. IRWIN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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Chapter One

THE PROBLEMS OF OLD TESTAMENT CHRONOLOGY

CHRONOLOGY is the backbone of history. Absolute chronology is the fixed central core around which the events of nations must be correctly grouped before they may assume their exact positions in history and before their mutual relationships may be properly understood. Without exact chronology there can be no exact history. Until a correct chronology of a nation has been established, the events of that nation cannot be correctly integrated into the events of neighboring states. If history is to be a true and exact science, then it is of fundamental importance to construct a sound chronological framework about which may be fitted the events of individual states and of the international world.

Of particular interest and importance is the history of the Hebrew nation. If the establishment of a correct chronology is important for any nation, then it is important for the Hebrews. Never will the manifold details of the Old Testament writings be correctly integrated into each other, never will the events of the Old Testament record be properly fitted into the events of the Near Eastern world, and never will the vital messages of the Old Testament be thoroughly or correctly understood till there has been established a sound chronology for Old Testament times. If Old Testament scholarship is to achieve the degree of confidence that is its due, then it must move forward on the basis of a sound chronology. Not until there has been established for the Old Testament a chronological pattern consistent with itself and in harmony with the known chronological facts of the ancient world will there exist a foundation which will make possible that degree of sound and scientific study so necessary in this important field.

Anyone who is acquainted with the difficulties of the chronological problem in general and with the special intricacies of Biblical chronological data will understand something of the task confronting him who would venture into this trying field. Every Old Testament scholar knows of the many chronological details in the Biblical record which

seem to be in hopeless disagreement with each other and with the chronological pattern of neighboring states. In spite of almost endless research and discussion, Biblical chronology has continued in a state of almost hopeless confusion. Nearly every student has his own particular chronological scheme. Upon only one point is there anything like unanimity of opinion, and that is a frank admission of the difficulties and intricacies of the problems involved, and of the uncertainties and inadequacies of current chronological schemes.

Because of the many difficulties encountered in the endeavor to integrate Hebrew chronological materials into those of neighboring states, there has arisen a general impression that Biblical chronology is something separate and apart from secular chronology and that these two are at hopeless variance one with the other—that if the one is sound the other is fallacious. Many scholars who have come to regard the chronological materials of secular annals as having proved their essential accuracy view Biblical chronology as a thing of dubious worth, while certain students of the Old Testament who place the main emphasis upon the absolute veracity of the Biblical record have come to look askance upon “secular” chronology.

But just what is “Biblical” chronology? Scores of mutually conflicting chronological schemes cannot all at one and the same time constitute the chronology of Old Testament times. The fact that some so-called system of Biblical chronology is not in harmony with the established chronology of the ancient East does not prove that “Biblical” chronology is not in harmony with the absolute chronology of that period. The very existence of so many systems of ancient Hebrew chronology is evidence that we do not yet know very much about what Biblical chronology actually is, and this fact constitutes a challenge to Biblical scholarship to continue to put forth effort until some sort of order is brought out of the present chaos.

Basically there is, of course, only one chronology; that is correct chronology. Between the absolute chronology of the Hebrews and that of their neighbors there can be no conflict. If Biblical chronology seems to be at variance with Assyrian chronology, it may be because of errors in the Hebrew records, but it may also be because the data preserved in those records are not correctly understood. If the chronological materials recorded in the Hebrew scriptures are basically sound, they will agree with whatever is sound in the annals of neighboring states. And if a pattern of Hebrew chronology can be established from Biblical sources which will agree with the chronological pattern of neighboring states as built upon the historical materials of

those nations, and which will be in agreement with the required astronomical data, then we may be certain that we are on the track of that correct and absolute chronology that has long been the goal of students of ancient history, and we may also be certain that we are dealing with sources which are basically sound.

The present discussion will confine itself to a study of the chronology of the kings of Israel and Judah. It is this period that is of greatest importance in Hebrew history, it is here that the most trying problems of Biblical chronology occur, and it is also this period that should offer the best opportunities for success, for it is here that the largest amount of chronological material, both Biblical and secular, is found.

The amount and variety of chronological material found in the Biblical record for the period of the kings is surprisingly extensive. First of all, there is a complete list of the kings of Israel and Judah for the period of the divided kingdoms, together with their lengths of reign. Thus Jeroboam reigned twenty-two years (I Kings 14:20), Asa forty-one years (I Kings 15:10; II Chronicles 16:13), Zachariah six months (II Kings 15:8), Zimri seven days (I Kings 16:15), and Manasseh fifty-five years (II Kings 21:1; II Chronicles 33:1). Furthermore, while the kingdoms of Israel and Judah were coexistent, synchronisms are given for the accessions of the kings of each nation in terms of the corresponding year of the ruler of the other nation. Thus Abijam came to the throne of Judah in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam of Israel (I Kings 15:1; II Chronicles 13:1), Jehoshaphat began to rule in Judah in the fourth year of Ahab of Israel (I Kings 22:41), Nadab in Israel ascended the throne in the second year of Asa of Judah (I Kings 15:25), Azariah took the throne of Judah in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II of Israel (II Kings 15:1), and Menahem of Israel in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah of Judah (II Kings 15:17). It will be noticed that many of the chronological details regarding the Hebrew rulers are recorded not only in the Books of Kings, but in Chronicles as well.¹

In the case of the kings of Judah, the age at the time of accession is frequently given. Jehoshaphat was thirty-five years old when he came to the throne (I Kings 22:42; II Chronicles 20:31), Jehoram was thirty-two (II Kings 8:17; II Chronicles 21:5, 20), Joash was seven (II Kings 11:21; II Chronicles 24:1), and Manasseh twelve (II Kings 21:1; II Chronicles 33:1).

1. For a list of the data regarding synchronisms and lengths of reign as found in the Books of Kings and Chronicles see Appendix A.

At times the year of reign is given when certain events took place. We are told, for instance, that in the twenty-third year of Joash, breaches in the house of the Lord had not yet been repaired (II Kings 12:6); in the seventh year of Hoshea, Shalmaneser began his siege of Samaria (II Kings 18:9); in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, Sennacherib came against the fenced cities of Judah (II Kings 18:13; Isaiah 36:1); and in the eighteenth year of Josiah the purging of the land and the temple was completed and an important passover was observed (I Chronicles 34:8; 35:19). Sometimes the day and month as well as the year of an event are given. Thus Nebuchadnezzar began his siege of Jerusalem in the ninth year of Zedekiah, on the tenth day of the tenth month (II Kings 25:1; Jeremiah 52:4); in the eleventh year, the fourth month, and the ninth day, the city was broken up (II Kings 25:3, 4); in the seventh day of the fifth month Nebuzaradan came to Jerusalem and destroyed its temple, palace, and walls (II Kings 25:8-10); and in the fifth day of the tenth month of that year, which was the twelfth year of Jehoiachin's captivity, word of the fall of Jerusalem reached the exiles in Babylon (Ezekiel 33:21).

There are occasions when the number of years involved in the interval from one event to another is given. Thus the death of Amaziah of Judah took place fifteen years after the death of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:17); from the time that Jeremiah received his call as a prophet in the thirteenth year of Josiah (Jeremiah 1:2), to the fourth year of Jehoiakim was a period of twenty-three years (Jeremiah 25:1, 3); and Ezekiel's vision of the city and temple is declared to have taken place "in the fourteenth year after that the city was smitten" (Ezekiel 40:1).

Events which are recorded in both Hebrew and secular history are always of interest. In the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak of Egypt came against Jerusalem (I Kings 14:25; II Chronicles 12:2). During the reign of Ahaz, Tiglath-pileser III came against Damascus and received tribute from the king of Judah (II Kings 16:7-9), and Menahem of Israel likewise paid tribute to Pul, i.e., Tiglath-pileser III (II Kings 15:19). Sennacherib came against Jerusalem and the fenced cities of Judah in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:13; Isaiah 36:1). All these events are referred to in the records of the ancient East.

Of particular importance are synchronisms between the years of Hebrew kings and the reigns of kings of the Near East. Thus the fourth year of Jehoiakim of Judah synchronized with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (Jeremiah 25:1), and the tenth year of

Zedekiah with the eighteenth of Nebuchadnezzar (Jeremiah 32:1).

A historian would normally look with delight upon such a large amount of chronological material as is found recorded in the Old Testament, for it would seem to facilitate the establishment of a sound chronological system. But for the Biblical scholar this has not been the case. The more details he has found in the record, the greater have been his perplexities, for once he has begun the development of a chronological pattern based upon one set of data, he has found a seemingly different pattern based upon other data, and, try as he would, he has found himself unable to make all the Biblical details harmonize with each other or with the historical pattern established by the chronological materials of contemporary powers.

One of the greatest perplexities concerning "Biblical" chronology is that many of its details seem to be self-contradictory. A number of these difficulties occur in connection with the data regarding the accession of the kings. Thus in one place we are told that Ahaziah of Judah came to the throne in the eleventh year of Joram of Israel (II Kings 9:29), while another reference states that it was the twelfth year (II Kings 8:25). And Joram the son of Ahab began to reign in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat of Judah according to II Kings 3:1, while according to II Kings 1:17, it was the second year of Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat. If II Kings 1:17 is correct, then Jehoram of Judah began his reign before Joram of Israel. But according to II Kings 8:16, Jehoram of Judah came to the throne in the fifth year of Joram of Israel. At first sight these statements sound hopelessly contradictory, and the reader may be expected to raise an eyebrow when told that regardless of how they sound, they are all correct and fit perfectly into the chronological pattern of the times. How this may be will be shown later in this volume.

Yet again, the accession of Omri of Israel is said to have taken place in the thirty-first year of Asa of Judah and his reign lasted twelve years (I Kings 16:23). In that case, the termination of Omri's reign would not have occurred till after the death of Asa who ruled forty-one years (I Kings 15:10). But the record states that Omri died and was buried in Samaria and was succeeded by his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:28, 29). But this was seven and not twelve years after Omri's accession in Asa's thirty-first year.

Another group of difficulties is that experienced in the totals of the years of reign. Figures from one fixed point in the history of Israel and Judah to another fixed point in their common history are not the same. For instance, the accession of Jeroboam of Israel and of Reho-

boam of Judah at the time of the schism coincide. And Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah met their deaths simultaneously at the hands of Jehu. The totals of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah for these two periods should be the same, but actually, using the figures in the Book of Kings (MT), they are as follows:

ISRAEL		JUDAH	
Jeroboam I	22 years	Rehoboam	17 years
Nadab	2 years	Abijam	3 years
Baasha	24 years	Asa	41 years
Elah	2 years	Jehoshaphat	25 years
Zimri	7 days	Jehoram	8 years
Omri	12 years	Ahaziah	1 year
Ahab	22 years		
Ahaziah	2 years		
Joram	12 years		
Total	98 years, 7 days	Total	95 years

The deaths of Joram and Ahaziah were followed by the accession during the same year of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah. According to II Kings 18:10, the fall of Samaria took place in the ninth year of Hoshea, which was the sixth year of Hezekiah. Thus the totals of reigns for these two periods should again agree, but actually they are as follows:

ISRAEL		JUDAH	
Jehu	28 years	Athaliah	7 years
Jehoahaz	17 years	Joash	40 years
Jehoash	16 years	Amaziah	29 years
Jeroboam II	41 years	Azariah	52 years
Zachariah	6 months	Jotham	16 years
Shallum	1 month	Ahaz	16 years
Menahem	10 years	Hezekiah	6 years
Pekahiah	2 years		
Pekah	20 years		
Hoshea	9 years		
Total	143 years, 7 months	Total	166 years

Thus in the first of these two periods which should be identical, we have a total of 98 years and 7 days for Israel as against 95 years for Judah, while in the second there are 143 years and 7 months for Israel as against 166 years for Judah. But, compared with Assyrian figures, both of these last figures seem too high, for from 841 B.C., the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, when the latter reported having received tribute from Jehu—usually conceded to be very early in Jehu's reign—to the accession of Sargon in 722/21, when the latter claimed to have captured Samaria, is only 120 years. Thus, compared with

Assyrian figures, the total of the reigns of kings of Israel for this period seems to be about 23 years too high, while for Judah there seems to be an excess of about 46 years.

Perhaps the greatest single difficulty of Old Testament chronology is found in the seeming disagreement between the synchronisms and the lengths of reign. Every scholar who has endeavored to work out a chronological pattern based upon both the synchronisms and the lengths of reign knows something of the extreme difficulties involved. If a chronology is worked out according to the lengths of reign, then the synchronisms will not fit; and if the synchronisms are employed, then it appears that the lengths of reign must be discarded. The two sets of data just do not seem to fit one into the other. Only a few examples need be given. Amaziah of Judah came to the throne in the second year of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:1) and reigned twenty-nine years (II Kings 14:2). Since the length of the reign of Jehoash was sixteen years (II Kings 13:10), the first fourteen of Amaziah's twenty-nine years would fall within the reign of Jehoash, and the remaining fifteen years would fall within the reign of Jeroboam, successor of Jehoash. It would be expected then, that Azariah, son and successor of Amaziah, would have come to the throne in the fifteenth year of Jeroboam. But we are told that Azariah came to the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam (II Kings 15:1). If Amaziah terminated his reign in the fifteenth year of Jeroboam and his successor did not begin his reign till the twenty-seventh year of that king, who ruled over Judah during the intervening twelve years?

Yet again, Jeroboam ruled forty-one years (II Kings 14:23). Since Azariah came to the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam (II Kings 15:1), the death of Jeroboam would come fourteen years after Azariah had begun his reign, and we would look for Zachariah, son and successor of Jeroboam, to come to the throne in the fourteenth year of Azariah. But the record states that Zachariah began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8). What should be done with the intervening twenty-four years? And yet again, Pekah of Israel began his reign in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27). Since Azariah reigned fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2), Pekah began his reign in the year in which Azariah died and in which he was succeeded by his son Jotham. Jotham reigned sixteen years (II Kings 15:33) and was followed by his son Ahaz. The length of Pekah's reign was twenty years (II Kings 15:27), sixteen of which would then coincide with the reign of Jotham, and the last four with the first four of the reign of Ahaz. Pekah was slain and

succeeded by Hoshea (II Kings 15:30), in what is in this reference declared to be the twentieth year of Jotham. But another reference states that Hoshea began his reign in the twelfth year of Ahaz (II Kings 17:1). If this latter reference is correct, then who ruled over Israel in the interval between the fourth and the twelfth years of Ahaz, and how can this latter synchronism be made to harmonize with the previous synchronism of Hoshea's accession in the twentieth year of Jotham, when Jotham reigned only sixteen years?

Almost everyone who has dealt with these and other similar problems has gone on to a place where he has found himself utterly baffled and has been forced to give up the problem in despair, with the conclusion that he is dealing with a group of data that are at hopeless variance with each other, and that no harmony is possible. Certain scholars have decided that in the construction of a sound chronological system only the lengths of reigns are to be considered, the synchronisms having been added at a late period and being irreconcilable with the years of reign. Yet others have come to the conclusion that it is the synchronisms which provide the correct picture of Hebrew chronology, and that it is the lengths of reign which are artificial and erroneous, and hence to be discarded.

Yet another type of difficulty constantly met by the student of ancient history is the seeming lack of harmony between the details of Old Testament chronology and the chronologies of neighboring states. The dates of Assyrian kings, for the period in which the most frequent contacts between Assyrian and Hebrew history occur, are quite definitely established. But frequently there seems to be a wide divergence between Biblical and established Assyrian datings for the same events. The divergencies appear to vary at different periods, increasing in extent the further we go back in point of time. To begin with is the baffling discrepancy of some thirteen years between the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, when Sennacherib made his invasion of Judea (II Kings 18:13), and the Assyrian date for this event. The Biblical date for the beginning of Hezekiah's reign is secured in this instance from the synchronism of his accession with the third year of Hoshea of Israel (II Kings 18:1). Since Hoshea ruled nine years (II Kings 17:1), and since his reign terminated with the fall of Samaria about 723/22 B.C., Hoshea must have begun his reign about 732/31 B.C., which would bring his third year and Hezekiah's accession about 729/28 B.C. And if 729/28 B.C. was the accession year of Hezekiah, his fourteenth year would be 715/14 B.C. But this is a full nine years before Sennacherib began his reign, and thirteen years before his

famous third campaign against the land of the Hatti in which he went up against the cities of Judah. This period of Hezekiah, Ahaz, and Jotham is particularly difficult to synchronize into the events of Assyrian history, and presents the single greatest problem in the chronology of the kings. It will be dealt with in detail later in this study.

As already noted, Hebrew chronological reckoning for the period of Hoshea is usually made to coincide with Assyrian chronology. But from that point backwards discrepancies arise. Thus the reign of Menahem is usually given according to "Biblical" chronology as 772-761 B.C. We know, however, both from Assyrian and Biblical sources, that Menahem and Tiglath-pileser were contemporaneous. But since we also know that Tiglath-pileser did not begin to reign till 745 B.C.,² it is clear that Menahem could not have died in 761, and that the aforesaid date for Menahem is at least sixteen years too early. Going back to Ahab, the date usually assigned to him according to "Biblical" chronology is 918-898 B.C. But it is known that Ahab was contemporaneous with Shalmaneser III, for the Assyrian records name Ahab as one of the participants in the battle of Qarqar, 853 B.C. And if Ahab was still alive in 853, his death could not have taken place in 898, forty-five years before. So we find that, whereas the chronologies of Assyria and of the Old Testament coincide at a period late in the eighth century B.C., about the middle of eighth century there seems to be a discrepancy of sixteen years or more, and if we go back another century the discrepancy increases to almost fifty years.

Only a few of the problems in the chronological field have here been mentioned, but they are sufficient to give some idea of the task confronting the Old Testament scholar. The reaction to these difficulties has been interesting and varied. Already in the third century before the beginning of the Christian era there are indications that the existence of these problems was recognized and that attempts were being made to deal with the problem. The Septuagint, at that time translated from the Hebrew, contains a number of striking variations in the chronological data from those contained in the Massoretic text, variations which it seems were introduced in order to make possible a more harmonious pattern as regards the lengths of reign of the Hebrew kings and the synchronisms. This subject will be dealt with in detail in a later chapter.

2. A discussion of the main facts concerning the nature and reliability of Assyrian chronology will be given in chap. iii.

In the early Christian centuries Biblical scholars continued to struggle with the chronological difficulties. Regarding them Jerome expressed himself as follows:

Relege omnes et veteris et novi Testamenti libros, et tantam annorum reperies dissonantiam, et numerorum inter Judam et Israel, id est, inter regnum utrumque confusum, ut hujusmodi haerere quaestionibus, non tam studiosi, quam otiosi hominis esse videatur.³

(Read all the books of the Old and New Testament, and you will find such a discord as to the number of the years, such a confusion as to the duration of the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel, that to attempt to clear up this question will appear rather the occupation of a man of leisure than of a scholar.)

It is the opinion of some of the most careful modern students of Old Testament history that, in spite of certain accidental errors of transmission and certain mistakes that may have occurred in working out the synchronisms, both the lengths of the reigns and the synchronisms are, in general, accurate and that the original data available to later scribes must have been sufficiently full and reliable to make possible the construction of a chronology which is neither fantastic nor artificial but basically sound.⁴

Another group of scholars, led by Ewald, Wellhausen, and Stade, holds the view that the chronology of the kings is essentially schematic and artificial, and that the recorded data are worthless for the construction of any sound chronological scheme.⁵

Some take the view that there has been "intentional mutilation of the text" and that certain "passages have been ruthlessly altered" in order to cover up various facts of history and to pass on to posterity not a true record of what actually took place but the type of picture that it was desired future generations should have in mind.⁶

3. Hieronymi, *Traditio catholica*, ed. J. P. Migne (Paris, 1864), Vol. I, Ep. 72, *Ad Vitalem* (*Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XXII, col. 676).

4. See Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), pp. 393-95; Adolf Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige* (Bonn, 1883), pp. 5 ff.; Franz Rühl, "Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XII (1894-95), 44 ff.

5. Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel* (London, 1876), I, 206 ff.; II, 20 ff., 297 ff.; Julius Wellhausen, "Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, XX (1875), 607-40; Bernhard Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (Berlin, 1889), I, 88 ff., 558 ff.; W. Robertson Smith, "Kings," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.), Vol. XIV, and "The Chronology of the Books of Kings," *Journal of Philology*, X (1882), 209-13; Friedrich Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed.; Berlin, 1878), pp. 263-64.

6. Jules Oppert, "Chronology," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV (1903).

There are today two main systems of chronology regarding the Hebrew kings. One is the long system employed by a group of men who place the main emphasis upon their interpretation of the requirements of the Massoretic text, regardless of the demands of contemporary chronology. To secure any degree of harmony between the lengths of reign and the synchronisms, the systems of chronology developed by this group have postulated the existence of interregna or periods of political chaos during which no rulers occupied the throne. As a result these systems give us a chronology which for the early period of the Hebrew kings is about fifty years longer than the chronology of the nations round about.⁷ Users of such systems usually think of their systems as constituting true Biblical chronology.

The other main type of chronological system is that employed by scholars whose primary purpose was to secure a system of Old Testament chronology which would be in harmony with the chronology of contemporary nations. In order to secure such a chronology it was felt necessary in many instances to disregard the data recorded in the Massoretic text and to secure dates for the Hebrew kings from such synchronisms as were available with contemporary history. This type of system in the early period of the kings is about fifty years shorter than the other,⁸ but is usually looked upon with suspicion by conservative Biblical scholarship. As a result the student of the Old Testament has had his choice of making use of some system of chronology which would provide harmony with the chronological reckonings of other nations but which was not regarded as "Biblical," or he could make use of some system of so-called "Biblical" chronology, but in so doing he was forced to make constant adjustments between the chronology he employed for the events of the Old Testament and the chronology of the nations round about. Thus if he were dealing with the close of Ahab's reign he would be thinking in terms of a date of about 900 B.C. for Ahab, but of about 850 B.C. for events of the Near East which would synchronize with the close of Ahab's reign. Or if he were dealing with the reign of Menahem he would, when thinking in "Biblical" terms, think of the period of about 770 to 760 B.C., but when he went to Assyrian history to find the events which synchronized with Mena-

7. Among those employing early dates for the disruption of the kingdom are the following: Hales, 990; Anstey, 982; Oppert, 978; Graetz, 977; Bähr, Mangenot, Ussher, 975; Mahler, 953.

8. Among those using late dates for the disruption of the kingdom are the following: Kamphausen, Kittel, Krey, Olmstead, 937; Robinson, 936; Kleber, 932; Couche, Rühl, Thilo, 931; Mowinkel, 930; Kugler, 929; Begrich, 926; Albright, Lewy, 922.

hem he would look for events which took place about 750 to 740 B.C.

Certainly in our age of enlightenment we should have something better than this. If the scholar who makes use of the shorter chronology knows from his knowledge of the history of the Near East that he is dealing with a chronology which is sound, he should, if true Biblical chronology is also sound, be in a position to appreciate this fact and not be forced to believe that in order to deal with historical facts it is necessary for him to sacrifice the basic details of Biblical chronology. Or if the conservative Old Testament scholar knows that his "Biblical" chronology is indeed the true chronology of the Hebrew scriptures, and if he knows that this longer chronology is indeed the absolute chronology of the period in question, he should be able with the vast amount of historical data now at hand, to put his finger on the specific chronological mistakes in secular history, and secure a secular chronology which is in harmony with his "Biblical" reckoning.

If it is true that the chronological data concerning the kings of Judah and Israel recorded in the Old Testament are fundamentally unsound, it would then indeed be a hopeless task to endeavor to establish any exact chronology upon such a foundation. But are we as yet altogether certain that such is the case? The fact that up to the present no scheme has as yet been devised which will bring harmony out of the many seeming contradictions does not of itself prove that harmony is impossible. The difficulties in the system which have induced the opinion that the figures are not dependable really establish no more than that the key which might provide the solution has up to the present not yet been produced. And an unsolved problem in any field is always a challenge to further effort and research till a final solution is reached.

Among the many appraisals of the chronological problem of the Old Testament perhaps that of Professor Kittel is worthy of more attention than it has received:

The Israelitish numbers and the parallel numbers referring to Judah do not agree at the points at which we are able to compare them. Besides, the well-established Assyrian dates differ considerably from those deduced from the Old Testament. Both facts show either that the numbers, originally given accurately, of the Books of Kings, were in course of time altered by disturbing influences (errors of scribes, misapprehensions of the meaning, etc.), or else that we are no longer in a position to discover the original method of reckoning according to which the sums of the several items were bound to agree; or finally, that both causes have con-

tributed to bring about the present state of things. The latter is most likely the case.⁹

Certainly at the current stage of Old Testament scholarship no one will be in a position to give categorical proof that any of the possibilities suggested by Professor Kittel may not have some part in accounting for the present situation as regards the chronology of the kings.

If errors on the part of the scribes may prove to be one possible source of our difficulties with Hebrew chronology, yet another source must be recognized in ourselves, for we today may simply no longer be in a position to determine the underlying factors whereby the available data will be found to agree. And does not this possibility constitute a challenge to further investigation on the assumption that the real difficulty may lie in our own present lack of information rather than in the insolubility of the problem itself? In other words, does not the most promising method of attacking this problem lie in a going forward on the basis that the Hebrew annalists and scribes who recorded and passed on these figures to us were at least normally honest and competent men who were in possession of certain sound historical data which they endeavored to preserve to the best of their ability and that, in so doing, they were performing a service of real value to the historian of the future? If an interpretation of the given facts of the Hebrew chronological system and of its difficulties can be found—an interpretation at once sufficiently simple and in harmony with our knowledge of the customs of the times as to carry some intrinsic reasonableness—should it not deserve our serious consideration and, in the nature of the case, carry high probability of its truth? And until we possess final and positive proof that the Old Testament chronological data are unquestionably false and unreliable, is it not the course of wisdom to give them the benefit of the doubt and to proceed on the assumption that there may be in these figures something of value which is not now fully realized, to endeavor to ascertain, if we can, just what lies back of these seemingly discordant figures, and thus, perchance, to open up avenues of knowledge now closed to us? It is on such a basis that we will endeavor to proceed.

9. R. Kittel, *History of the Hebrews* (London, 1896), II, 235, 236.

Chapter Two

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF HEBREW CHRONOLOGY

IN WORKING out the chronology of a nation, a primary requisite is that the chronological procedure of that nation be understood. The following items must be definitely established: (a) the year from which a king began to count the years of his reign—whether from the time of his actual accession, from the following year, or from some other time; (b) the time of the calendar year when a king began to count his reign; (c) the method according to which a scribe of one nation reckoned the years of a king of a neighboring state, whether according to the system employed in his own nation or according to that of the neighbor; (d) whether or not the nation made use of coregencies and whether interregna occurred; (e) whether during the period under review a uniform system was followed or whether variations took place; and, finally, (f) some absolute date during the period in question from which the years can be figured backwards and forwards so that the full chronological pattern might be secured.

An understanding of each of the above items is necessary to a correct reconstruction of the chronologies of Israel and Judah, for unless one were acquainted with the particular type of chronological procedure in use, a wrong interpretation might be placed upon the available data and an erroneous pattern ensue.

Just when did a king begin counting the years of his reign? Did he, immediately that he ascended the throne, begin counting that as his first year or did he wait till the beginning of the next new year and designate that his first year? Customs in this matter were not the same. In Assyria, Babylon, and Persia, when a king first came to the throne, the year was usually called the king's accession year, and not till the first day of the first month of the next new year did the king begin reckoning events in his own first year. This system of reckoning is called the accession-year system, or "postdating." In other places a king began to reckon his first year from the day he first came to the throne. This method of reckoning is known as the nonaccession-year system, or "antedating." It will be noticed that any particular year of

a king's reign according to the nonaccession-year system is always one year higher than according to the accession-year system. Thus the first year according to the accession-year system would be called the second year according to the nonaccession-year system, and so on. Therefore, in order to know exactly what is meant by the data provided concerning the length of the reign of a certain king or concerning the year of his reign when some event took place, it first becomes necessary to understand the system of reckoning involved in the data given.

The exact time of the year from which a king began to count his regnal year is also an important factor. Would a king begin counting his regnal years from the day on which he ascended the throne, or would his regnal years coincide with the calendar years? Among the Hebrews there were two calendar years, one beginning with Nisan in the spring and the other with Tishri in the fall. With which of these months did the Hebrews begin reckoning their regnal years? And did both Israel and Judah follow the same practice? In regard to the latter, four possibilities exist: (a) both Israel and Judah began the regnal year with Nisan; (b) both Israel and Judah began the regnal year with Tishri; (c) Israel began the regnal year with Nisan and Judah began it with Tishri; (d) Israel began the regnal year with Tishri and Judah began it with Nisan.

It will be readily apparent that the type of reckoning involved for the beginning of a king's regnal year might involve important differences in the chronological data regarding that king. This would be particularly true where cross-synchronisms were involved regarding kings of two nations which followed different methods of chronological procedure. Let us take the case of two hypothetical kings, Jonathan of Judah and Ishmael of Israel, both of whom came to the throne on the same day, at the beginning of the month of Nisan. And for the sake of simplicity let us imagine a case where both Israel and Judah were following the same method of reckoning their regnal years, both according to the nonaccession-year system. If both nations also followed the same practice of commencing their regnal years with either Nisan or Tishri, then the reckoning of their years would correspond throughout their reigns. But if Judah began its regnal year with Nisan and Israel began it with Tishri, for the first six months after coming to the throne, the first year of Jonathan would synchronize with the first year of Ishmael, but from the first of Tishri to the next first of Nisan, the first year of Jonathan would synchronize with the second year of Ishmael. During the next six

months both kings would be in their second year, but from the next first of Tishri for another six-month period, the third year of Ishmael would synchronize with the second year of Jonathan, and so onward. It will thus be seen that even though both of these kings came to the throne at the same time, every alternate six months the years of Ishmael's reign would be numbered one year higher than those of Jonathan, while during the other six months the numbers of their years would be the same. If Israel began reckoning its regnal year with the first of Nisan and Judah with the first of Tishri, it would be Jonathan whose second year would begin after he had been on the throne only six months, at the first of Tishri, while Ishmael's first year would continue another six months, till the first of Nisan, when he would begin reckoning his second year. It will thus be seen that with Jonathan and Ishmael beginning their reigns at the same time, the simple matter of the month from which they began to reckon their regnal years might give us the following variations as to their respective years of reign: (a) the first year of Jonathan would synchronize with the first year of Ishmael, (b) the first year of Jonathan would synchronize with the second year of Ishmael, (c) the second year of Jonathan would synchronize with the first year of Ishmael.

It might appear that such an item as this is too hypothetical to be worth discussion. Before we have proceeded far with our presentation of the chronological pattern of the kings of Israel and Judah it will be seen, however, that the points we have here given have a vital bearing upon the data involved, and that an understanding of the principles here set forth is prerequisite to a correct reconstruction of Hebrew chronology. So simple a matter as the determination of the month with which Israel and Judah began their regnal years might thus become a vital factor in the clearing up of the baffling problem of the chronology of the Hebrew kings.

It will be remembered that the above hypothetical case of Jonathan and Ishmael was worked out on the basis of Judah and Israel both using the same system of reckoning their regnal years, the nonaccession-year system. The matter would become even more involved, however, if in addition to using different months for the beginning of their regnal years, the two nations also used different systems for reckoning those years—the one the accession-year system and the other the nonaccession-year system. These additional variations in system would add greatly to the total possible permutations in the chronological pattern, but, complicated though this might make the problem, these are factors that cannot be neglected in any scientific endeavor to work out the chronologies of the Hebrew kingdoms.

Still another factor which must be taken into consideration where two nations employing different chronological systems are concerned is the method that might be employed by each nation in referring to the chronological data of the other nation. If Judah were using the accession-year system and Israel the nonaccession-year system, how would a scribe of Judah refer to the years of a king of Israel—according to the system in use in his own nation of Judah, or according to the system in use in Israel? In other words, if hypothetical Ishmael were in his tenth year of reign according to the nonaccession-year system in use in Israel, how would a scribe of Judah refer to that year? Would he call it the tenth year, which would be the terminology applied to it by a scribe of Israel, or would he call it the ninth year, which is the year it would be according to the accession-year system in use in his own nation of Judah? And what might be the practice of a scribe of Israel in referring to the reign of a king of Judah? If Judah's scribes would use Judah's system in referring to the years of a king of Israel, would Israel's scribes employ Israel's system in referring to the years of a king of Judah?

Again there are some interesting possibilities here. Judah might, (a) employ her own system when referring to the year of a king of Israel, and Israel might employ Israel's system when referring to a king of Judah; or, (b) Judah might employ Israel's system when referring to a king of Israel and Israel might employ Judah's system when referring to a king of Judah; or, (c) Judah might employ its system when referring to a king of Israel, while Israel might employ Judah's system when referring to a king of Judah; or, (d) Judah might employ Israel's system when referring to a king of Israel, while Israel might employ Israel's system in referring to a king of Judah.

Once more we are dealing with a matter which might appear too hypothetical to be worthy of discussion. But not until such possibilities as these have been considered may we feel that a thorough piece of work has been done in the endeavor to deal with the aggravating problems of Hebrew chronology. In fact, it is just such factors as these, long neglected, which might help to provide the clue for the unraveling of the tangled chronological skein of the Hebrew kings.

Even so simple a statement as that a certain king ruled for a certain number of years may have a number of different meanings. It may be that this particular king had for a number of years ruled conjointly with his father. If so, does the figure given for the length of his reign cover merely his sole reign or does it include the years of corulership? In some nations it was at certain periods quite the regular procedure for a king still ruling in the prime of his power to appoint his

son as coregent. Such was the case in Egypt during the twelfth dynasty. In other nations a coregent was appointed to serve with the father at times of emergency. Just how frequent the appointment of a coregent was in any particular country is a matter that usually has to be worked out by careful study. In working out a correct chronology for a nation the matter of coregencies is of vital importance, for unless the existence of the coregencies is known, years that were overlapping might otherwise be made consecutive and the history of the nation stretched out beyond the years of an absolute chronological pattern.

The matter of interregna is also important. In the history of nations there are few records of states passing through periods when they were without rulers. Even in times of trouble and crisis nations had their rulers, and at such periods those who would exercise control were usually present in increased numbers. History has indeed shown that periods of political weakness and chaos have usually resulted in a multiplication of rulers rather than in a cessation of rulership. The invention of interregna for the sake of endeavoring to clear up certain seeming chronological discrepancies is something which must therefore be approached with extreme caution. When interregna are invented and inserted where they ought not to be, it is only to be expected that the resultant chronological pattern will be drawn out beyond the years of contemporary nations and beyond the terms of an absolute chronology.

Finally, in the endeavor to establish a chronology for a state, attention should be given to the question of whether or not the same method of chronological procedure continued without change throughout the period in question, or whether modifications may have been introduced. A careful study of history often surprises us with the unexpected. Having established certain rules of chronological procedure for the nations of Israel and Judah, we may well ask ourselves whether throughout their history they continued to adhere to these rules or whether modifications may have been introduced.

An understanding of each of the above items is necessary to a correct reconstruction of the chronology of the Hebrew kingdoms, but to obtain such an understanding is by no means easy. It is certain that no ancient authorities exist who can pass this information on to us. Some facts may be gleaned from the available data, but others can be worked out only by a laborious process of trial and error.

In all his work the chronologist needs to use the utmost care. A mistake made in one place is never lost, but will rise again and again, to

continue to plague him in his work and demonstrate its presence, until it has been discovered and corrected and a true historical pattern has been established. When moving along in line with principles that are sound, the work of the chronologist becomes a matter of satisfaction and delight, as he discovers opening before him a harmonious chronological pattern, consistent with itself and in harmony with all other correct chronological data.

The chronologist must keep in mind that it is his task not to manufacture history but to recover history. In dealing with chronology he is dealing with something fundamental and absolute, something altogether fixed that allows of no deviation in any way, even by a single year, if it is to be entirely correct. Adjustments cannot be made, a little here and a little there, in order to secure some desired result. Events happened as they did and when they did, and the task of the chronologist is to fit those events into their exact niches in history. Carefully and correctly performed, the chronologist's work will when finished comprise a complete and harmonious pattern, consistent with itself and in perfect harmony with the correct chronological pattern of all nations round about. If the chronologist's work cannot meet this test of absolute harmony with all else that is sound, then at some point he had been guilty of error, his work has not been completed, and he must start again, discover his error, correct his mistakes, and keep on till his task is finished.

Our first task in the endeavor to recover the fundamental principles of Hebrew chronology will be to discover if we can the systems employed by Israel and Judah in the reckoning of their regnal years. We have noticed that the systems usually employed in the Near East were the accession- and the nonaccession-year systems. The possibilities are: (a) that both Israel and Judah employed the accession-year system, (b) that both nations employed the nonaccession-year system, (c) that Israel employed the accession-year system and Judah the nonaccession-year system, or (d) that Judah used the accession-year system and Israel the nonaccession-year system.

Let us notice again the outstanding factors in the accession- and nonaccession-year systems. According to the accession-year method of reckoning, that portion of the last calendar year during which a king reigned was assigned to him as his last year, and the balance of that year—the period during which the succeeding king reigned—was termed the accession year of the new king. Not until the termination of the calendar year during which the previous king had died and the beginning of the new year did the new king begin reckoning his first

year of reign. According to this system there was no duplication in the reckoning of years. If a ruler was said to have ruled ten years, then ten years was the length of his reign, and if there were ten rulers each of whom according to this system ruled ten years, the period covered by their reigns was one hundred years. When, however, the nonaccession-year system was used, that portion of the final calendar year during which a king reigned was assigned to him as his last year, and the remaining portion of the year during which his successor reigned was termed that king's first year. Consequently, that particular calendar year was assigned to two kings, being counted both as the last year of the old king and the first year of the new king. Thus, according to this method of reckoning, there was always a duplication of one year for each reign. If a king according to this system is said to have reigned ten years, the actual length of his reign was only nine years, and if there were ten kings each of whom according to this system had ruled ten years, the total period covered by their reigns was only ninety years. If, then, we have one nation using the accession-year system and another nation using the nonaccession-year system, the years of the latter nation will increase by one year for each reign as compared with the nation using the accession-year system. An understanding of these principles will help us to understand something about the basic nature of the difficulties involved in the chronological data of the Hebrew kings.

Following are the data of the early kings of Judah and Israel:

JUDAH

Rehoboam	.....17 years	I Kings 14:21
Abijam	.....18th of Jeroboam	I Kings 15:1
Abijam	.....3 years	I Kings 15:2
Asa	.....20th of Jeroboam	I Kings 15:9
Asa	.....41 years	I Kings 15:10

ISRAEL

Jeroboam	.....22 years	I Kings 14:20
Nadab	.....2d of Asa	I Kings 15:25
Nadab	.....2 years	I Kings 15:25
Baasha	.....3d of Asa	I Kings 15:28
Baasha	.....24 years	I Kings 15:33
Elah	.....26th of Asa	I Kings 16:8
Elah	.....2 years	I Kings 16:8
Zimri	.....27th of Asa	I Kings 16:10
Zimri	.....7 days	I Kings 16:15
Omri	.....27th of Asa	I Kings 16:15, 16
Omri	.....12 years	I Kings 16:23
Ahab	.....38th of Asa	I Kings 16:29

Now let us observe how the years of reign of these kings compare with each other for the respective periods involved:

1. OFFICIAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF NADAB

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	3 years	(I Kings 15:28)
Total	23 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam	22 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab	2 years	(I Kings 15:25)
Total	24 years	Discrepancy 1 year

2. OFFICIAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF BAASHA

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	26 years	(I Kings 16:8)
Total	46 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam	22 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab	2 years	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha	24 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Total	48 years	Discrepancy 2 years

3. OFFICIAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF ELAH

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	27 years	(I Kings 16:10)
Total	47 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam	22 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab	2 years	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha	24 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Elah	2 years	(I Kings 16:8)
Total	50 years	Discrepancy 3 years

4. OFFICIAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF OMRI

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	38 years	(I Kings 16:29)
Total	58 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam	22 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab	2 years	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha	24 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Elah	2 years	(I Kings 16:8)
Omri	12 years	(I Kings 16:23)
Total	62 years	Discrepancy 4 years

In the above tabulation the year for Asa has been secured in each instance from the synchronism given regarding the corresponding year in Israel. Thus Nadab was slain and succeeded by Baasha in the third year of Asa (I Kings 15:25, 28), and the third year of Asa would mark the termination of Nadab's reign. Baasha was succeeded by his son Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa (I Kings 16:8), so the twenty-sixth year of Asa marks the close of the reign of Baasha. Elah was slain and succeeded by Zimri in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:10), so the twenty-seventh year of Asa marks the end of Elah's reign. Inasmuch as Zimri reigned only seven days before he was slain and Omri was made king (I Kings 16:15, 16), it will not be necessary to include Zimri's reign in our reckoning in order to secure the number of years here under review, but only the reign of Omri. Omri was followed on the throne by his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:29), so that year would mark the termination of Omri's reign.

As the totals of these various groups of numbers are compared with each other, the growing discrepancy between the years of Israel as compared with the years of Judah for the same period will be immediately apparent. In the first group the number of years for Judah from the schism to the death of Nadab is twenty-three while for Israel it is twenty-four, or an excess of one year for Israel. In the second group the total for Judah to the year of Baasha's death is forty-six while for Israel it is forty-eight, or an excess of two years for Israel. In group three the total for Judah to the year of Elah's death is forty-seven as compared with fifty for Israel, or an excess of three years for Israel. And in group four the total for Judah to the time of the death

of Omri is fifty-eight while for Israel it is sixty-two, or an excess of four years for Israel. Why is it that the totals for Israel are always higher than those for Judah, and, particularly, why do these totals become one year higher with each succeeding reign? This is exactly the result that we would look for if the years of the one nation were being reckoned according to the accession-year system and of the other nation according to the nonaccession-year method. The above phenomenon is a clear indication that during the period under discussion the years of the kings of Judah were reckoned according to the accession-year method while in Israel the nonaccession-year system was in use.

If the above conclusion is correct, and if the data are accurately recorded in the Hebrew text, then if the years of the kings of Israel recorded on the basis of the nonaccession-year system are transferred into terms of the accession-year method, we should secure harmonious totals for the years of Judah and Israel, and we should also secure figures which would give us the actual years involved for Israel as well as Judah in the periods under review. Let us notice what the results will be if we reduce the figure for the official length of reign of each king of Israel by one year in order to bring it into line with absolute time, allowing the numbers for the kings of Judah to stand as they were previously given:

1. BIBLICAL DATA CONCERNING THE KINGS OF JUDAH, ACTUAL YEARS OF KINGS OF ISRAEL, TO NADAB'S DEATH

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	3 years	(I Kings 15:28)
Total	23 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Total	22 years	Discrepancy 1 year

2. BIBLICAL DATA CONCERNING THE KINGS OF JUDAH, ACTUAL YEARS OF KINGS OF ISRAEL, TO BAASHA'S DEATH

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	26 years	(I Kings 16:8)
Total	46 years	

ISRAEL

Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha (24), actual	23 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Total	45 years	Discrepancy 1 year

3. BIBLICAL DATA CONCERNING THE KINGS OF JUDAH, ACTUAL YEARS OF KINGS OF ISRAEL TO ELAH'S DEATH

JUDAH

Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	27 years	(I Kings 16:10)
Total	47 years	

ISRAEL

Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha (24), actual	23 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Elah (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 16:8)
Total	46 years	Discrepancy 1 year

4. BIBLICAL DATA CONCERNING THE KINGS OF JUDAH, ACTUAL YEARS OF KINGS OF ISRAEL, TO OMRI'S DEATH

JUDAH

Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa	38 years	(I Kings 16:29)
Total	58 years	

ISRAEL

Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha (24), actual	23 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Elah (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 16:8)
Omri (12), actual	11 years	(I Kings 16:23)
Total	57 years	Discrepancy 1 year

As the data are here recorded—those concerning the kings of Judah according to the figures as found in the Old Testament, and the figures for Israel as reduced in each instance by one year to secure the actual rather than the official lengths of reign—we have the strange phenomenon of an excess of exactly one year in each of the above groups for Judah as compared with Israel. In our first tabulation the excess was always in the numbers for Israel and this excess continued to increase by one year for each additional reign. In the second tabulation,

however, the excess is always in the figures for Judah and this excess is now one year in each instance. Why is this, and why are the two groups not the same as they should be if both are in accord with absolute time? Let us look back again at our first tabulation and notice that in the case of the first two kings of Israel, Jeroboam and Nadab, the total was twenty-four years for Israel as against twenty-three years for Judah. With two kings of Israel having reckoned their reigns according to the nonaccession-year system, this should give us a number two years higher than absolute time, and the actual years involved for this period should have been twenty-two rather than twenty-three as we now have them for Judah. In other words, for the period covered by these first two kings of Israel, if they had reckoned their years according to the nonaccession-year system while those of Judah were recorded in accord with the accession-year method, the discrepancy should have been two years instead of one. For the first three kings of Israel—Jeroboam, Nadab, and Baasha—the discrepancy should have been three years instead of two; for four kings—Jeroboam to Elah—it should have been four years instead of three; and for five kings—Jeroboam to Omri—it should have been five years instead of four. Thus, with the addition of the third king of Israel, Baasha, the absolute years for Judah should be forty-five instead of forty-six as they now are, and with the addition of the fourth and fifth kings, Elah and Omri, the absolute years should be forty-six and fifty-seven instead of forty-seven and fifty-eight as the totals now are for Judah. Why is it that these totals for Judah in each instance are just one year higher than they should be compared with absolute time?

Looking back at our first tabulation of the data for Judah and Israel, it will be noticed that in securing these figures for the years of Judah, we took only the numbers for the lengths of reign from the data recorded for Judah, the last figure in each group, that of the synchronizing year of the Judean ruler when the corresponding ruler of Israel came to the throne, having been secured from the official data as recorded in connection with the chronological materials for the kings of Israel. Our tabulation shows that this figure is in each instance just one year too high, and this in turn indicates that the figure for this synchronizing year is expressed in terms of the nonaccession- rather than the accession-year system, and that it will need to be reduced by one year in order to be in accord with actual years and absolute time. Inasmuch as Israel then employed the nonaccession-year system, can it be that in the data presented in connection with one of its kings,

the scribes employed nonaccession-year reckoning throughout, both for the reckoning of the years of the kings of Israel and also for the computation of the synchronizing year with a ruler of Judah, even though that particular Judean ruler may himself have employed the accession-year system? Let us present the numbers upon such a basis, reducing the figure for the synchronizing year with Judah by one year in each instance, in order to secure the actual rather than the official figure for the year of reign:

1. ACTUAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF NADAB

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa (3), actual	2 years	(I Kings 15:28)
Total	22 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Total	22 years	

2. ACTUAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF BAASHA

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa (26), actual	25 years	(I Kings 16:8)
Total	45 years	
ISRAEL		
Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha (24), actual	23 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Total	45 years	

3. ACTUAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF ELAH

JUDAH		
Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa (27), actual	26 years	(I Kings 16:10)
Total	46 years	

ISRAEL

Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha (24), actual	23 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Elah (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 16:8)
Total	46 years	

4. ACTUAL YEARS FROM THE SCHISM TO THE DEATH OF OMRI

JUDAH

Rehoboam	17 years	(I Kings 14:21)
Abijam	3 years	(I Kings 15:2)
Asa (38), actual	37 years	(I Kings 16:29)
Total	57 years	

ISRAEL

Jeroboam (22), actual	21 years	(I Kings 14:20)
Nadab (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 15:25)
Baasha (24), actual	23 years	(I Kings 15:33)
Elah (2), actual	1 year	(I Kings 16:8)
Omri (12), actual	11 years	(I Kings 16:23)
Total	57 years	

Upon this basis it will be noticed that the totals for Judah are in each group identical with the totals for Israel. There is every reason to believe that the above is the secret of the method actually employed by the Hebrew scribes in their reckoning of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah, and it is this system which we shall employ in the chronological reconstruction that will be here set forth. Whenever we are dealing with the official data presented in connection with either nation, be it Israel or Judah, we shall use only one system for those data, whether they concern the reign of a king of that nation or a synchronizing year with the neighboring nation. Thus, when we are dealing with the official data in connection with the ruler of a nation in which the accession-year system was employed, we will employ accession-year reckoning both for the figures of that ruler's length of reign and also for any synchronism which might be presented with the year of a king of the neighboring nation, even though in that neighboring nation nonaccession-year reckoning may have been employed. And when dealing with the data for a king of a nation in which the nonaccession-year system was used, we will use non-accession-year reckoning both for the years of his own reign and also for a cross synchronism with the year of a king of the neighboring nation, even though that king may himself have used the accession-

year system in reckoning his own reign. Thus when Baasha's accession is declared to have taken place in the third year of Asa (I Kings 15:28), it is the third year of Asa according to the nonaccession-year system employed in Israel, which according to Judah's accession-year system and absolute time would be Asa's second year. Since Baasha was succeeded by Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa (I Kings 16:8), this would be the twenty-sixth year according to the nonaccession-year system, or the twenty-fifth year of Asa according to the accession-year system and actual years. Similarly when Zimri's and Omri's accession and Elah's death took place in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:10, 15, 16), nonaccession-year reckoning, this would actually be Asa's twenty-sixth year, and Omri's death and Ahab's accession in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:29), nonaccession-year reckoning, would be the thirty-seventh year of Asa according to Judah's accession-year system and absolute time.

When the above adjustments are made, so that the figures for both nations may stand in terms of the same method of reckoning and in accord with actual rather than official years, it will be noticed that there is perfect harmony for the totals of Israel and Judah in each group. Thus, from the beginning of the reign of Rehoboam to the thirty-seventh year of Asa, accession-year reckoning, is a period of fifty-seven years, and this is also the total involved from the beginning of the reign of Jeroboam to the death of Omri and the accession of Ahab.

It will be clear that if the numerical data of the rulers of Israel and Judah recorded in the Books of Kings were indeed computed in accord with the principles here set forth, then the solution of this phase of the chronological problem of the kings must involve a recognition of these principles, and that any failure to do so can result only in continued frustration and erroneous patterns of reigns.

As this pattern of lengths of reigns and synchronisms is carefully studied, it will be clear that the individuals who first recorded these data must have been dealing with contemporary chronological materials of the greatest accuracy and the highest historical value, and it will also become apparent that back of the seeming discrepancies lies an underlying harmony not previously appreciated because of our failure to understand the principles of the chronological systems then in use.

The harmonious pattern thus produced we believe provides full and sufficient proof that it was indeed the accession-year system

which was employed in Judah and the nonaccession-year system in Israel during the period under review.

The records of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III also help to throw some light upon the method of reckoning employed in the Northern Kingdom during the ninth century B.C. It was during the sixth year of Shalmaneser that the famous battle of Qarqar was fought in which Ahab joined forces with the western allies in resisting the Assyrian king.¹ Thus Ahab was still alive during the sixth year of Shalmaneser III. Ahab was succeeded by Ahaziah who ruled two years (I Kings 22:51), and Ahaziah was followed by Joram who ruled twelve years (II Kings 3:1), or a total of fourteen official years for these two kings. After Joram came the usurper Jehu (II Kings 9:24; 10:36). Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser III in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser's reign.² So Jehu was already ruling over Israel in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser, twelve years after Ahab fought at Qarqar, and the reigns of Ahaziah and Joram must thus have taken place in the twelve-year interval between Shalmaneser's sixth and eighteenth years. But how can fourteen years be fitted into twelve? It is evident that the total years of reign of Ahaziah and Joram could not have exceeded twelve years, and this would be exactly the case if Ahaziah's official two years were reckoned on the nonaccession-year basis which would give him only one actual year, and if Joram's twelve years were reckoned on the same basis or eleven actual years, giving a total of twelve years for these two kings. It will thus be seen that the ancient records of Assyria provide this interesting additional and conclusive evidence that Israel at this time was reckoning the reigns of its kings upon the nonaccession-year basis.

Our next task is to ascertain if we can the time of the year from which the kings of Israel and Judah began to reckon their regnal years. Most Biblical chronologists have followed a Nisan-to-Nisan year in dealing with the Hebrew kings.³ The statement in the Mishna tract *Rosh Hashana* that the first of Nisan is the New Year for kings⁴

1. Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* (Chicago, 1926), Vol. I, secs. 563, 610, 611, 646, 647.

2. *Ibid.*, sec. 672.

3. Isaac Newton, *The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (London, 1728), p. 296; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh, 1857), I, 206; Franz Xaver Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster, 1922), p. 26; Julius Lewy, "Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens," *MVAG*, XXIX, No. 2 (1924), 25; Willis Judson Beecher, *The Dated Events of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 11.

4. *Babylonian Talmud, Tract Rosh Hashana*, "New Year," chap. i, par. 1.

is no doubt largely responsible for this point of view. Such outstanding authorities as Begrich and Morgenstern point out, however, that, in view of the late date of the Mishna notice, we might expect to find recorded there merely a late tradition.⁵ It is quite possible that, by the time the Mishna statement was prepared, all memory of the exact chronological arrangements of the Hebrew kings had disappeared and that any statements from the authorities of that age are as arbitrary as those of more recent investigators.

Kleber employs a Nisan-to-Nisan year for Judah but a Tishri-to-Tishri year for Israel.⁶ Many of the best modern students of chronology follow a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning for both Judah and Israel.⁷ Begrich believes that a shift was made from a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning in the early period to a Nisan-to-Nisan year in later times.⁸ Mahler holds that the regnal and the calendar years were not identical but that the former was counted from the day on which the king first came to the throne.⁹

The difficulty with the above systems, however, is that they do not succeed in clearing up the discrepancies in the synchronisms. If the position is taken that these discrepancies are irreconcilable, there might be no way of proving with absolute finality whether the above systems are right or wrong, for complete evidence on this point is not at present available, as has been expressed by some who have made a most careful study of the subject.¹⁰

There is evidence, however, which gives some indications as to the type of regnal year employed in Judah. That a Tishri-to-Tishri year was used in the reckoning of Solomon's reign is indicated by the data available concerning the building of the temple. Work on the temple

5. Joachim Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda und die Quellen des Rahmens der Königsbücher* (Tübingen, 1929), p. 70; Julian Morgenstern, "The New Year for Kings," *Occident and Orient: Gaster Anniversary Volume* (London, 1936), pp. 439, 454-55.

6. Albert M. Kleber, "The Chronology of 3 and 4 Kings and 2 Paralipomenon," *Biblica*, II (1921), 15.

7. Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *Acta orientalia*, IX (1941), 175 ff.; Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, pp. 439-56; "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, X (1935), 1 ff.; and *Amos Studies* (Cincinnati, 1941), I, 127-79.

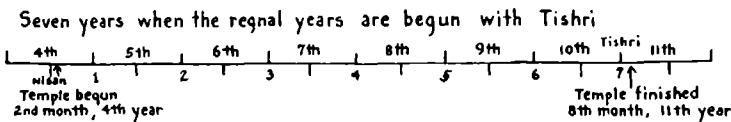
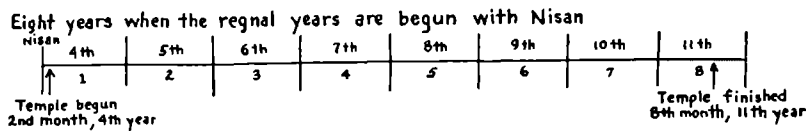
8. *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-90.

9. Edward Mahler, *Handbuch der jüdischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 236-42.

10. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1911), II, 27; Martin P. Nilsson, *Primitive Time Reckoning* (Lund, 1920), pp. 232 ff., 272 ff.

was begun in the second month of the fourth year of Solomon (I Kings 6:1, 37), and it was completed in the eighth month of Solomon's eleventh year, having been seven years in building (I Kings 6:38). In the Hebrew scriptures the months are numbered from Nisan, regardless of whether the reckoning of the year was from the spring or fall.¹¹ And reckoning was according to the inclusive system, whereby the first and last units or fractions of units of a group were included as full units in the total of the group.¹² If Solomon's regnal year began in Nisan, then, according to the above method of counting, the construction of the temple would have occupied eight years instead of seven. The graph below makes it clear that the figure

THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE



of seven years for the building of the temple can be secured only when regnal years are computed from Tishri to Tishri but with a Nisan-to-Nisan year employed for the reckoning of ordinary events and the ecclesiastical year.

11. See Exod. 12:2; Lev. 23:5, 24, 27; Num. 9:1, 5, 11; 28:16; 29:1, 7; I Kings 8:2; II Kings 25:25; Jer. 41:1, 8; II Chron. 5:3; 7:10; 29:3; 17; 30:1-3, 13, 15; Jer. 36:9, 22; Ezra 6:19; Neh. 1:1; 7:73-9:1; Esther 3:7, 12, 13; 8:9.

12. See II Kings 18:9, 10, where the period from the seventh to the ninth years of Hoshea is given as three years; Lev. 12:3 and Gen. 17:12, where a child was eight days old on its eighth day; Gen. 42:17, 18, where Joseph's brothers were placed in ward for three days which terminated on the third day; and Lev. 23:15, 16, where the fifty days of Pentecost began to be counted with the day after a certain sabbath and terminated with the day after a sabbath seven weeks later. Cf. also Matt. 12:40 and Mark 8:31, where the period from Christ's crucifixion on Friday afternoon to his resurrection on Sunday morning is counted as three days; and Acts 10:3-30, where the period from a certain day on which Cornelius had a vision, the next day when he sent messengers to Peter at Joppa, the following day when they arrived at the home of Peter, and the day after that, when Peter arrived at the home of Cornelius, is reckoned as four days.

If the regnal years of Solomon were figured from Tishri to Tishri, this would almost certainly be the method employed by the successors of Solomon in the Southern Kingdom. That Judah almost at the close of its history was still counting its regnal years from Tishri to Tishri is indicated by II Kings 22:3 and 23:23, for it was in the eighteenth year of Josiah that the work of repair was begun on the temple, and it was still in the same eighteenth year, after the first of Nisan had passed, that the Passover was celebrated on Nisan fourteen. It is true that if all the events narrated between II Kings 22:3 and 23:23—the delivering of the funds for the repair of the temple to the carpenters, builders, and masons who were to perform this work, the accomplishment of the work of repair, the finding of the book of the law, the reading of the book by Shaphan the scribe and before the king, the consultation with Huldah the prophetess, the gathering of the elders of Judah to Jerusalem to hear the reading of the law, the destruction of the vessels of Baal, the putting-down of the idolatrous priests, the breaking-down of the houses of the sodomites, the defilement of the high places from Geba to Beersheba, the destruction of the emblems of the sun-god, the desolation of the altar and high place at Bethel, the doing-away with all the houses of the high places in the cities of Samaria, and the slaying of the idolatrous priests—if all this could have been performed in the short period of two weeks between the first and the fourteenth of Nisan, then there would be no evidence here for the beginning of the regnal year with Tishri 1. But since it is quite clear that all the above events could not have taken place in a two-week period, it is evident that Josiah's eighteenth year of reign must have commenced before the first of Nisan and carried over beyond Nisan 1, and that Tishri 1 must thus have been the beginning of the regnal year. Furthermore, it is clear from Neh. 1:1 and 2:1 that Nehemiah reckoned the years of the Persian king Artaxerxes from Tishri to Tishri, for a certain month Kislev fell within the twentieth year of the king, and the following Nisan was still in the same twentieth year. But why would Nehemiah do this, when it was the custom in Persia to reckon the year from Nisan to Nisan? Is it not reasonable to suppose that Nehemiah was acquainted with the custom formerly followed by the kings of Judah to begin their regnal years with Tishri and, in a spirit of intense nationalism, applied the customary Jewish practice even to a Persian king?

Perhaps the strongest argument for the use of a Tishri-to-Tishri regnal year in Judah is that this method works, giving us a harmoni-

ous pattern of the regnal years and synchronisms, while with a Nisan-to-Nisan regnal year the old discrepancies would be retained.

For the nation of Israel there seems to be no scriptural evidence as to the time of the beginning of the regnal year. However, when a Nisan-to-Nisan regnal year is used for Israel together with a Tishri-to-Tishri year for Judah, the perplexing discrepancies disappear and a harmonious chronological pattern results. It will be recalled, moreover, that Jeroboam spent some time as a political refugee in Egypt during the reign of Solomon (I Kings 11:40), before returning to Israel to become its first king (I Kings 12:2, 3, 20). While in Egypt he had, of course, become acquainted with the Egyptian "wandering" year, which at that time happened to begin in the middle of April, and upon his assumption of the royal power in Israel he would be more inclined to adopt the practice of a spring new year as it was observed both in Egypt and Mesopotamia, rather than to follow the custom observed in the rival kingdom of Judah.

In the chronological material of the Hebrew kingdoms an important factor is the series of synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah. If basically correct, these synchronisms provide us with a supply of chronological material of the greatest value—material without which the reconstruction of a correct chronology for the Hebrew kingdoms would be an impossibility. These synchronisms hold the chronologist within the bonds of a very rigid restraint, making impossible variations one way or another that seem to be indicated by the information available concerning the lengths of reign. Yet it is the combination of synchronisms and lengths of reign that has proved to be such a sore thorn in the flesh of Biblical chronologists, for no harmonious chronological pattern based upon both synchronisms and lengths of reign seemed to be possible. It is the existence of these difficulties that has given rise to the general opinion that the chronological materials concerning the Hebrew kings are basically in error. But when dealing with this subject we must admit that modern chronologists have been altogether too prone to approach it from a modern point of view rather than from the viewpoint of the ancient Hebrew scribe. What we have had in mind is more our own interests and conveniences as chronologists dealing with this mass of seemingly contradictory data rather than the practical task facing the ancient Hebrew recorders of keeping an accurate and intelligent chronological record of two closely related nations employing diverse systems of chronological reckoning. What we must do is to approach this subject less from the standpoint of what we think the Hebrew scribes

should have done according to our point of view and more from a sincere endeavor to ascertain exactly what they did.

We have already seen that there exists definite evidence pointing to the use immediately after the disruption, of the accession-year system in Judah and of the nonaccession-year system in Israel. Under such a situation, just how would a Hebrew scribe go about the task of recording for each nation the data concerning the length of reign of a king using one system and the cross synchronism between his accession and the year of a king in the neighboring nation employing a different chronological system? When we today find ourselves making comparisons between the financial records of two nations employing different financial systems, such as America and Great Britain, do we endeavor to compare American dollars with British pounds, or when dealing from the British standpoint do we endeavor to compare British pounds with American dollars, or do we not in the one instance reduce British pounds into American dollars, and in the other instance, American dollars into British pounds? With constant cross references being made between the kings of Israel and Judah using diverse chronological systems, the question is pertinent as to the method a scribe should use. Should he, when presenting the record for Judah, give the years of reign of a Judean king in terms of Judah's accession-year system and then give a cross reference to a year of the king of Israel in terms of Israel's nonaccession-year system, or should he continue to make use of the accession-year system even for Israel's king? And when dealing with a ruler of Israel what should his procedure be? Since the Hebrew chronologists have not given us specific information as to just how they dealt with this problem, can we, under the circumstances, do anything better than to make a careful examination of the data they have left us and endeavor to secure therefrom an answer to our queries? This we have endeavored to do, with the results already expressed; namely, that when dealing with the data of Israel and giving the length of reign of an Israelite king and the cross synchronism of the year of his accession with the year of the king then ruling in Judah, both items were expressed in terms of the chronological system then used in Israel; and when dealing with Judah and giving the length of reign of the Judean king and the cross reference of his accession with the year of the king then reigning in Israel, both items were given in terms of the type of chronological system then in use in Judah.¹³ When this principle is once understood, together

13. The question may be raised whether Israel and Judah in their cross-reckonings of the reigns of each other's kings might not also have begun counting the

with the other principles of chronological procedure already presented, the once baffling discrepancies will begin to vanish, and we will be able to bring forth harmony from data where all was confusion before. The chart at page 74 of this volume will portray the completeness of chronological harmony which the application of this principle makes possible.

In the construction of a sound chronology the question of coregencies must be considered. Kings were prone at times to associate their sons with them upon their thrones, but they did not always leave direct evidence of what was done in this regard. Often the evidence regarding the existence of a coregency is indirect and obscure. But if a coregency existed it is important that this fact be ascertained, for otherwise years that overlapped might be treated as consecutive and a chronological pattern ensue exceeding the years of contemporary history.

Whether or not coregencies were employed is not a question that can be settled *a priori*. The available evidence must be carefully examined, and if it points to the existence of a coregency the historian accepts that fact. Double datings at times provide the necessary clue. Thus, in Egypt it is known that the year 30 of Amenemhet I corresponds to the year 10 of Sesostris I, that the year 44 of Sesostris I corresponds to the year 2 of Amenemhet II, and that the year 35 of Amenemhet II corresponds to year 3 of Sesostris II.

In the case of Israel, a double dating is given for the accession of Joram, the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17) and the

regnal year of the neighboring kings from the month with which they began their own regnal years and not with that employed by the neighbor. That is, might not Israel have reckoned the years of the kings of Judah as commencing with Nisan, and might not Judah have reckoned the years of the kings of Israel as commencing with Tishri? The possibility that such a procedure might at times have been followed is indicated by the fact that Nehemiah, when speaking of the reign of Artaxerxes, applied the Judean practice of beginning the regnal year with Tishri even to that of a king of Persia (Neh. 1:1; 2:1). But that such a system was not regularly employed by the Hebrew scribes is revealed by the fact that, when the endeavor is made to employ this system in reckoning the synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah—flexible though the system may be—the vexatious discrepancies remain, whereas, with the scheme herewith suggested, they disappear. Not even the reign of the first king of Israel—Jeroboam—can be made to synchronize with the reigns of his contemporaries Abijam and Asa according to the Biblical data when this method is used. If harmony of the chronological pattern constitutes a test as to the correctness of chronological procedure, it may be said that synchronisms based on the months used to begin the regnal year in the neighboring kingdoms were not employed by either Israel or Judah.

eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1). This undoubtedly points to a coregency between Jehoshaphat and his successor Jehoram, a coregency which is again referred to in II Kings 8:16. In II Kings 15:5 mention is made of Jotham's judging the land during the illness of his father Azariah. Valuable evidence regarding the existence of a number of other coregencies is found in the synchronistical data or the data concerning the years of reign. When the evidence points to the existence of a coregency, the alert historian will recognize it and accept it, and the result will be a correct historical pattern, harmonious with itself and with the years of contemporary history. When that evidence is neglected or rejected the result will be a distorted pattern in which harmony is not possible.

The question of interregna has already been briefly mentioned. There is no evidence anywhere in the Old Testament record of the existence of a single interregnum in either Israel or Judah during the period of the divided monarchies. When there was no king there was no nation. During periods of political unrest several kings might have been ruling simultaneously in various parts of the land, but once kingship ceased, the existence of the monarchy was at its end. Nothing in the Bible, nothing in contemporary history, calls for any interregna anywhere during the period of the Hebrew kings, and when, as a result of a failure to understand the basic principles of chronological procedure involved, interregna are invented for the purpose of clearing up certain supposed chronological discrepancies, the result is not greater harmony but less, and we are left with a distorted historical pattern out of harmony with contemporary history and with the absolute chronology of the times. It is largely the unwarranted insertion of nonexistent interregna into the chronology of the kings which accounts for the so-called long systems of Hebrew chronology usually regarded as Biblical but which present such perplexing variations from the established chronology of the ancient East.

Having set forth certain of the fundamental principles of Hebrew chronology in the early period of the divided monarchies, the question may well be asked as to whether these principles were retained without modification to the end of Hebrew history, or whether variations were introduced. The course of history brings frequent and sometimes violent modifications of political procedure. In such a technical matter as the type of chronological procedure in use, the possibility of occasional modifications of method must not be overlooked. Such modifications took place in other nations, and they could well have taken place among the Hebrews. When no specific

information is available regarding the basic methods of chronological procedure in use among the Hebrews, we can hardly look for information regarding any modifications that may have been introduced. Again this is a matter which the student must discover for himself by careful and painstaking study.

We have already made an examination of the data concerning the kings immediately after the schism and we have seen how certain phenomena point definitely to the use at that time of the accession-year system in Judah and of the nonaccession-year system in Israel. Let us notice the data available from a later period. It will be remembered that Ahaziah of Judah and Joram of Israel were slain simultaneously by Jehu (II Kings 9:24, 27). Their successors, Athaliah in Judah and Jehu in Israel, would thus begin their reigns at the same time. Athaliah ruled seven years (II Kings 11:4, 16, 20), and Joash forty (II Kings 12:1), or a total of forty-seven years. During the same period in Israel, Jehu ruled twenty-eight years (II Kings 10:36), which if reckoned on the nonaccession-year basis would be an actual twenty-seven years. Jehoahaz, the successor of Jehu, had a reign of seventeen official years (II Kings 13:1), or sixteen actual years. It was in the second year of Jehoash of Israel that Amaziah, son and successor of Joash of Judah, came to the throne (II Kings 14:1) and that Joash terminated his reign. If these years are reckoned according to the accession-year system in harmony with the custom for cross-synchronisms previously mentioned, this would be an actual two years that Jehoash of Israel, son and successor of Jehoahaz, had ruled when the termination of the reign of Joash of Judah took place. Adding together these years for Israel—twenty-seven for Jehu, sixteen for Jehoahaz, and two for Jehoash—we have a total of forty-five years from the time that Jehu came to the throne, to the second of Jehoash, accession-year reckoning. For Judah we should have this same total of forty-five years for the corresponding period from the accession of Athaliah to the death of Joash and the accession of Amaziah. But as already noticed the figures for Judah for this period are forty-seven years and not forty-five. What is wrong? If the official years of Judah for this period were reckoned not according to the accession- but the nonaccession-year system and were reduced accordingly to bring them in line with actual years—six years instead of seven for Athaliah and thirty-nine instead of forty for Joash—we would have a total of forty-five years for Judah which would be in harmony with the total of forty-five years for Israel for the same interval. But this would presuppose that during the period in question

both Judah and Israel were reckoning their reigns according to the nonaccession-year system, and that Judah must, therefore, at some time previous to this, have made a shift from the accession- to the non-accession-year system. It would also presuppose that at the close of the period Judah shifted back to the accession-year method, for the synchronism of Amaziah's accession in the second year of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:1) was reckoned above on the basis of accession- and not nonaccession-year reckoning.

A shift in Judah from one type of reckoning to another would be a matter of considerable interest, and if it actually did take place we might find more than one indication of such a fact. That such a shift did occur is indicated not only by the above totals of reign but also by the synchronism for the accession of Jehoram of Judah in the fifth year of Joram of Israel (II Kings 8:16), for this synchronism is possible only on the basis of a reckoning of the years of Judah according to the nonaccession-year method rather than the accession-year system previously employed. In fact, it was the impossibility to work out this synchronism on the basis of accession-year reckoning up to that time employed in Judah which first called my attention to the possibility that such a shift might have taken place. Up to the time of Jehoram's reign in Judah, the method of chronological procedure previously outlined had provided a harmonious pattern based upon the chronological data of the Massoretic text of Kings. But with the reign of Jehoram a difficulty was faced. At that time harmony was possible only if the reigns of Judah as well as Israel were reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system. The question immediately raised was whether at that time Judah might have made a shift in the method employed in reckoning the regal years, abandoning her own accession-year system and adopting the nonaccession-year system of Israel. Further investigation provided a number of indications that such a shift had indeed taken place. One of these is the totals of years discussed in the previous paragraph. Another is the continued impossibility to secure harmony in the synchronisms for the rulers of Judah from Jehoram to Joash inclusive, unless these reigns were computed on the basis of nonaccession-year reckoning.

Still another indication was the double synchronism for the accession of Ahaziah, given in one place as the eleventh year of Joram of Israel (II Kings 9:29), and in another place as his twelfth year (II Kings 8:25). Here we have the interesting possibility of one scribe continuing to give the year of Ahaziah's accession according to the

old accession-year system, the eleventh year of Joram, and another giving it according to the newly adopted nonaccession-year method, Joram's twelfth year. The valuable clew to this change found in the Massoretic text of II Kings 8:25 has been lost in the Lucianic text, whose editor changed the "12" to an "11" to correspond to II Kings 9:29.

What might have been the reason for Judah's abandonment of the old accession-year method and the adoption of the nonaccession-year system in use in Israel? We have noticed that the indications are that this shift in system was introduced during the reign of Jehoram. It will be remembered that the wife of Jehoram was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel of Israel (II Kings 8:18, 26). A period of *rapprochement* between Judah and Israel had been introduced by Jehoshaphat, with the royal families intermarrying (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 21:5, 6), adopting the same names for their children (II Kings 3:1; 8:16),¹⁴ and exchanging visits (II Kings 8:29; II Chron. 18:1, 2). The two nations, moreover, united in joint ventures for foreign trade (II Chron. 20:35, 36; I Kings 22:48, 49) and made a common disposition of their forces in battle (I Kings 22:2-4; II Chron. 18:3-31; 22:5, 6). Israel rather than Judah seemed to be the leading force in these matters of affiliation, with the Southern Kingdom following the lead of her northern neighbor (I Kings 22:2; II Kings 8:27; II Chron. 18:2, 3; 22:2-5), and being rebuked by her prophets for this affiliation (II Chron. 19:2; 20:37). With such a strong-willed daughter of Jezebel as his wife (II Chron. 22:2, 3, 10-12; II Kings 11:1-3), it is only to be expected that Jehoram would be induced to adopt certain customs of the northern house. Indeed, the record expressly declares of him that "he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab" (II Kings 8:18; II Chron. 21:6). Such a grip did northern influence at this time secure upon the Southern Kingdom that Judah changed her method of reckoning the years of her kings to correspond to that of Israel. Once introduced, the non-accession-year system was to continue in Judah for fifty-two years and through the reigns of four of her rulers.

Although we have mentioned that the change from the accession- to the nonaccession-year system was introduced into Judah at the time of Jehoram, it is entirely possible that it was Athaliah who made the shift when she took the throne of her slain son, with the reckon-

14. For the sake of clarity, we are using in this volume the name "Jehoram" for the ruler of Judah and the name "Joram" for the king of Israel.

ing in the latter instance thrown back by the scribes to include the reign of Jehoram.¹⁵

Mention has been made of the fact that the nonaccession-year system was employed for reckoning the reigns of Judah from Jehoram to Joash inclusive, and that beginning with Amaziah a shift back to the accession-year system took place. The indications are that Israel at this same time also shifted from the nonaccession- to the accession-year system, beginning this method of reckoning with Jehoash who was the successor of Jehoahaz and the contemporary of Amaziah of Judah. The evidence for this shift is found in the pattern of synchronisms and lengths of reigns, which from this time forward can be worked out harmoniously only on the basis of accession-year reckoning in both Israel and Judah.¹⁶

It can hardly be a mere coincidence that both Israel and Judah should have adopted the accession-year system at practically the same time, though one would hardly expect collaboration between such kings as Jehoash and Amaziah. Inasmuch as it was the accession-year system which was followed by Assyria and inasmuch as Assyria was,

15. I am indebted for this latter suggestion to Professor W. A. Irwin. Inasmuch as both the accession- and the nonaccession-year systems were still in use at the end of Jehoram's reign, Professor Irwin has called my attention to the fact that the actual shift in reckoning may well have been introduced by Athaliah and then thrown back by the scribes or annalists to include the reign of Jehoram, but with the conservative element continuing for a time to cling to the old system.

16. The author is happy to call attention to the existence of a number of striking parallels between the details of his chronological scheme and that of Professor V. Coucke of the Grand Seminaire de Bruges (see his "Chronologie biblique," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. Vigouroux [*Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot], Vol. I [1928]). Not until the author had worked out the details of his chronological scheme and the resultant dates for the kings of Israel and Judah, did he become aware of the earlier work of Professor Coucke. It is a matter of gratification to know that these two independent studies have produced essentially the same results on a number of important points, such as Tishri-to-Tishri regnal years in Judah and Nisan-to-Nisan years in Israel (though Professor Coucke suggests that in the latter instance this might have been the first of Thoth instead of Nisan), and accession-year reckoning in Judah except for a period when a shift was made to the nonaccession-year system, and nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel with a later shift to the accession-year system. Professor Coucke, however, commences Judah's shift to the nonaccession-year system with Athaliah instead of Jehoram and continues it through to the reign of Jotham or Ahaz instead of to the accession of Amaziah; Israel's shift to the accession-year system he commences with Menahem instead of Jehoash, with a shift back to the nonaccession-year system under Pekah, and then again to the accession-year system under Hoshea. Other vital points, however, were not ascertained by Professor Coucke, and in consequence he retains a number of discrepancies and uncertainties in his completed scheme.

at the time of these kings, manifesting a great interest in the West, this shift to the accession-year system in both Israel and Judah is no doubt in some way connected with the growth of Assyrian influence in the countries of western Asia and may point to a rather wide adoption of this system of reckoning in these areas at this time.

The methods employed by Israel and Judah in the reckoning of the reigns of their kings would thus be as follows: Israel at the time of the schism followed the nonaccession-year system and continued its use till the close of the ninth century B.C. when under Jehoash a shift was made to the accession-year system, which continued to be used to the close of Israel's history. Judah at the time of the schism used the accession-year system and continued its use to the middle of the ninth century, from Jehoram to Joash reigns are reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system, and from Amaziah, at about the beginning of the eighth century, to the close of Judah's history the accession-year system was again in use. At the time of the schism, Israel and Judah were thus using different systems of chronological reckoning, Israel the nonaccession-year system and Judah the accession-year method; and from the middle of the ninth century to the close of their respective histories both nations employed the same method—the nonaccession-year system to the beginning of the eighth century, and the accession-year system from then to the end.¹⁷

The best argument for the correctness of the above outline of chronological procedure among the Hebrews is that it works, giving us a chronological scheme of the kings of Israel and Judah in which there is internal consistency and which harmonizes with the chronological pattern of neighboring states. When these principles are applied to the Hebrew kings, it will be found that the irritating discrepancies that have so long baffled and perplexed students of Old Testament history will at length disappear. To apply these principles to the data of the Massoretic text available for the kings of Israel and Judah, and thus to establish the chronology for the royal period, is the task we shall here undertake.

17. A list of the chronological data of the kings of Israel and Judah arranged according to the systems here set forth will be found in Appendix A.

Chapter Three

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ABSOLUTE DATE IN HEBREW CHRONOLOGY

A MAJOR objective in the reconstruction of the history of a nation is the establishment of its chronology. Not until a central core of exact and dependable chronological reckoning has been secured may the historian move forward with confidence toward the correct grouping and interpretation of the events of that state and of its neighbors.

In the Old Testament no absolute dates are given and it becomes our task to establish, if we can, some absolute date in the history of Israel which can be used as a starting place for the establishment of other dates in the desired chronological scheme. Our only hope of doing this is to find some cardinal point of contact where Hebrew history ties with certainty into the history of some other nation whose chronology has been correctly established.

In the early period of the Hebrew monarchies the most frequent and definite contacts were with Assyria, and in the later period with Neo-Babylonia. Fortunately, the chronologies of these two nations, at least for the period with which we are most concerned, have been quite definitely established. There were also frequent Hebrew contacts with Egypt, Syria, and other lesser states, but these contacts were in most instances very indefinite in point of time, and the chronologies of these nations are likewise far from being positively established.

Assyrian chronology back to the beginning of the ninth century B.C. rests upon a highly dependable basis. The various items essential to the establishment of a sound chronology were present, and as a consequence scholars have been able to produce a chronological system for that nation which may be received with full confidence.

First to be noted is the nature of the Assyrian year, for, if years as they were reckoned then, did not mean solar years as we know them, anything in the way of absolute chronology would be extremely difficult or impossible. The Assyrians during the period here under discussion followed the well-known custom of lunar months and

solar years. A new month was begun with each new moon. Since the moon makes a complete revolution of the earth once in each 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, and 2.8 seconds, or approximately once every $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, the Assyrian months, as the usual rule, were alternately 29 or 30 days in length. Twelve of these months made up the usual year. But since this procedure gave a year which was approximately eleven days short of the solar year, it was necessary, if the year was to be kept in line with the sun and the annual seasons, for frequent adjustments to be made. Such adjustments were made whenever necessary by the addition of an intercalary month to the yearly calendar. Thus, once in every two or three years—seven intercalations within a nineteen-year period—the calendar contained thirteen months instead of the usual twelve, and by this means the Assyrian year was kept in line with the solar year. This was also the procedure followed in Babylon and among the Hebrews. When in Assyrian chronology we are dealing with the passage of a certain number of years we can have confidence that the years involved are solar years which may be precisely determined by reckoning from the data of recorded astronomical phenomena.

Of the greatest importance to the historian in the reconstruction of a sound chronological outline is the use of some device whereby events may be dated into the exact years when they took place, and whereby the passage of the years may be reckoned correctly over extended intervals of time. The Seleucid and the Christian eras, the Olympic periods in Greece, and the custom of dating events in terms of the founding of Rome, have been of incalculable assistance to the chronologist in the correct reconstruction of history. The Assyrians did not make use of an era as such but they did possess a system of eponymous years which serves a similar purpose. From some period very early in their history—possibly from the very beginning of the kingdom—to the end, the Assyrians followed the practice of each year appointing to the office of eponym or limmu, some high official of the court, the governor of a province, or the king himself. The limmu held office for a calendar year, and to that year was given the name of the individual then occupying the position of limmu. Historical events in Assyria were usually dated in terms of these limmus, although at times they might be dated in terms of the year of the reign of the king, and on occasions both the year of reign and the eponymous year were given.

It will thus be seen that if we have a list of eponyms we have a list of Assyrian years, and that for any period for which there might be

available a complete and accurate list of eponyms, there would be available a device making possible an accurate reconstruction of the chronological outline of the period covered. Fortunately the Assyrians followed the custom of preserving lists of eponyms, many of which are available today. Some of these contain only a few names while others contain several hundred names. Among the cuneiform tablets found at Nineveh by Austen Layard, Sir Henry Rawlinson identified four which were copies of the Assyrian eponym canon, and to these he assigned the numbers I, II, III, and IV. Canon I covered the period from 911 to 659 B.C.; II extended from 893 to 692 B.C.; III from 792 to 649 B.C.; and IV from 753 to 701 B.C. None of these lists is perfect for the entire period, each of them being broken in places. Canon IV originally contained some sixty additional names, so that it probably ended later than any of the other three. But where one tablet may be broken, the missing name or names may in many instances be supplied from other tablets, for in addition to the above, a number of other lists are at present available. Among these are the following listed by Ebeling and Meissner:¹ C^a5, 743-682 B.C.; C^b1, 816-727; C^b2⁷, 810-745; C^b4, 840-706; C^b6, 818-703; C^c, 872-660; and C^d, 719-661.

Of particular interest among the limmu lists are a number of tablets which give not only the names of the eponyms but their titles or positions and the principal events during the various eponymies. Of this type are tablets listed in the C^b group by Ebeling and Meissner and canons V, VI, and VII of George Smith.² One item of unusual importance is a notice of an eclipse of the sun which took place in the month Simanu, in the eponymy of Bur-Sagale. Astronomical computation has fixed this as June 15, 763.³ With the year of the eponymy

1. "Eponymen," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, Vol. II (1938). A number of additional lists are given in this volume, but they are of so short a nature that they need not be mentioned in detail here.

2. George Smith, *The Assyrian Eponym Canon* (London, n.d.), pp. 28, 42-55.

3. Various efforts have been put forth to identify this eclipse with that of June 24, 791, or with that of June 13, 809. These efforts have usually been prompted by the attempt to create some system of Assyrian chronology which will be more in keeping with certain preconceived ideas of "Biblical" chronology. Such attempts introduce not harmony but confusion into both Hebrew and Assyrian history. In the endeavor to discredit the reliability of the testimony of the eponym canon, efforts are made to postulate a break in the canon, usually early in the eighth century B.C. The suggestion has been made that a whole block of 51 consecutive names, from 834 to 783 B.C., has been dropped from the canon and that all dates based on the canon beyond 783 B.C. are 51 years too low. According to this hypothesis, the Assyrian date of 911 B.C., the first year of Adad-nirari II, which synchronizes with the accession of Asa, should be 962 B.C., based upon the evidence of "Biblical" chronology (see Martin Anstey, *The*

of Bur-Sagale fixed at 763 B.C., the year of every other name of the complete canon can likewise be fixed. The Assyrian lists extant today provide a reliable record of the annual limmu officials from 891 to 648 B.C.,⁴ and for this period they provide reliable dates in Assyrian history.

In addition to the various limmu lists there exists another Assyrian document which is of great historical and chronological importance. This is the Khorsabad King list found at Khorsabad, the ancient site of Dur-Sarrukin, capital of Sargon, in excavations conducted there during the season of 1932/33 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The tablet has a subscription stating that it was copied from a king-list tablet in the city of Assur during the second eponymy of Adad-bel-ukin which is the eighth year of the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, 738 B.C. On the tablet is found a complete list of the kings of Assyria, from the beginning of Assyrian history to Assurnirari V, 755-745, immediate predecessor of Tiglath-pileser III. For the earliest kings only the names are given, then comes a section containing the name of the king and of his father, and finally a third section giving also the number of years of the king's reign.⁵ The value of a historical document providing such information will be immediately apparent. Of particular importance to us in our present task is the fact that we have here a pattern of Assyrian chronology paralleling that of the eponym canon and making possible a check on the accuracy of the canon as far as this extends. There is a remarkable agreement between the two. The fact that the tablet was written in the year 738 B.C. and that it closes with the reign of a king ruling in the middle of the eighth century B.C. would point to the immediately preceding period as the probable era of greatest accuracy, for it is from that period that the most reliable information would be avail-

Romance of Bible Chronology [London, 1913], p. 220). George Smith describes a number of earlier attempts in this regard (*op. cit.*, pp. 4 ff.). There exists no evidence of any kind of a break in the eponym canon, particularly at the period in question, and certainly not in true Biblical chronology. All the available evidence, from Assyrian sources, from Babylonian and Egyptian records, and from the Hebrew Scriptures, points to the complete reliability of the canon in the matter of chronological reckoning. Any modern attempts to postulate a break in the canon at the very period when the evidence in regard to its reliability is the most overwhelming will be disdained by the careful historian.

4. For a list of these eponyms see Appendix F.

5. For a description of the tablet and a discussion of its contents see A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, I (1942), 247 ff., 460 ff.; II (1943), 56 ff.

able to the scribe. This is a matter most gratifying to the Biblical chronologist, for it is in this period that he finds many of his most difficult problems.

If we possess a document providing a check on the accuracy of the eponym canon prior to the middle of the eighth century B.C., we also possess a document providing a check on its accuracy for the period following the middle of the eighth century B.C., namely, the canon of Ptolemy. This document comes from the second century after Christ. Ptolemy (70-161 A.D.) was a scholar of outstanding ability. He was an astronomer, geographer, historian, and chronologist. His famous canon begins with the reign of Nabonassar in Babylon, 747 B.C. First appears a list of the rulers of Babylon and their lengths of reign, from Nabonassar to Nabonidus with whom the Neo-Babylonian empire came to its end. Then follow the rulers of Persia from Cyrus the conqueror of Babylon to Darius III, the last ruler of Persia when it was overthrown by Alexander the Great. Following Alexander and Philip, Ptolemy next lists the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt to Cleopatra, and then goes on with the rulers of Rome from Augustus to Antoninus Pius, 138-161 A.D.⁶ In addition to the number of years for each king, the sum of the years for the period of each ruler from the beginning of the canon is also given, this figure being secured by merely adding the sums of the previous reigns. We thus have what is called the Nabonassar era, which began with Feb. 27, 747 B.C. (astronomically noon, Feb. 26). Following the years of the Babylonian and Persian rulers up to the time of Alexander the Great, the years are again numbered beginning with Philip, and the totals are thus expressed to Antoninus Pius and the end of the canon.

What makes the canon of such great importance to modern historians is the large amount of astronomical material recorded by Ptolemy in his *Almagest*, making possible checks as to its accuracy at almost every step from beginning to end. Over eighty solar, lunar, and planetary positions, with their dates, are recorded in the *Almagest* which have been verified by modern astronomers. The details concerning eclipses are given with such minuteness as to leave no question concerning the exact identification of the particular phenomenon referred to, and making possible the most positive verification. Early in the canon, for instance, its correctness can be checked by an eclipse of the moon which took place in the first year of Mardokempados, on the night of Thoth 29/30, which began in Babylon one hour after the

6. For a good discussion of Ptolemy's canon see F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (Leipzig, 1906), pp. 138 ff.

rise of the moon, and was a total eclipse. This was the twenty-seventh year of the Nabonassar era. The eclipse has been fully verified as having taken place on March 19, 721. Yet again Ptolemy mentions an eclipse in the seventh year of Cambyses, which would be the year 225 of the Nabonassar era, or 523 B.C. This eclipse has been computed to have taken place on July 16, 523. And once more Ptolemy states in the *Almagest* that an eclipse of the moon took place in the thirty-first year of Darius, on Tybi 3/4. Since the death of Cambyses occurred in 522 B.C., year 226 of the Nabonassar era, the thirty-first year of Darius would bring us to 491 B.C., year 257 of Nabonassar's era. The eclipse took place April 25, 491 B.C. The dates of the Nabonassar era have thus been fully established, and once the method of procedure involved in the reckoning of the years of the kings is understood,⁷ the canon of Ptolemy may be used as a historical guide with the fullest confidence.

Since Ptolemy's canon gives precise and absolutely dependable data concerning the chronology of a period beginning with 747 B.C., and since the Assyrian eponym canon carries us down to 648 B.C., it will be seen that there is a century where these two important chronological guides overlap and where they may be used as a check upon each other. The canon of Ptolemy provides the date 709 B.C., year 39 of the Nabonassar era, when Sargon king of Assyria became king of Babylon. From Assyria come two tablets, K 5280 and K 2688, providing the information that the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Assur-li', the thirteenth year of Sargon as king of Assyria, was his first year as king of

7. The years reckoned in Ptolemy's canon are Egyptian years of 365 days each, with no leap years. For this reason the 907 years of the canon are 226½ days shorter than 907 Julian years, and the year of the canon was thus a wandering year, beginning with February 26, 747 B.C. and commencing one day earlier every four years. By A.D. 160 the Egyptian New Year's day had moved back to July 14. In the Babylonian and Persian sections the canon reckons each reign from the first day of Thoth, the Egyptian New Year's day, after the king came to the throne. For the Greek and Roman rulers the canon reckons each reign from the first of Thoth preceding the ruler's accession. It will be noticed that this method employed by Ptolemy is equivalent to the use of the accession-year system for Babylon and Persia and the nonaccession-year system for Greece, Egypt, and Rome—the very systems employed by the rulers of those lands at those times. A king whose reign was less than a year, which did not embrace the New Year's day, would not be mentioned in the list. No fractions of years are counted, these being taken care of by throwing the beginning of a ruler's reign forward to the New Year's day following or back to the New Year's day preceding his actual accession as above mentioned. For a good discussion of this and other related phases of this problem see Josef Hontheim, "Die Chronologie des 3. u. 4. Buches der Könige," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XLII (1918), 463–82, 687–718.

Babylon.⁸ We thus secure 709 B.C. as the year of the eponymy of Mannu-ki-Assur-li' and the thirteenth year of Sargon as king of Assyria. Now on the basis of Ptolemy's canon we are able to provide dates to all the other eponymies on the Assyrian lists, and we thus secure 763 for the eponymy of Bur-Sagale—the same date as was secured for that eponymy by the evidence of the solar eclipse which took place that year in the month Simanu. So the date 763 for the eponymy of Bur-Sagale has been established not only by the astronomical evidence of Assyria but also by that of Ptolemy's canon, and we thus have complete assurance that 763 is the correct date for Bur-Sagale and that the other dates of the eponym lists, reckoned backwards or forwards from that date, are likewise correct.

Many other cross references between the Assyrian eponym list and the canon of Ptolemy are possible, such as the fourteenth year of Sargon as king of Assyria and second year as king of Babylon, in the eponymy of Shamash-upahhir,⁹ the fifteenth year of Sargon as king of Assyria and third year as king of Babylon, in the eponymy of Sha-Assur-dubbi,¹⁰ the sixteenth year of Sargon as king of Assyria and fourth year as king of Babylon, in the eponymy of Mutakkil-Assur,¹¹ and others.¹²

When the student has at his disposal chronological materials so dependable as the Assyrian eponym list and the Ptolemaic canon, he may have complete assurance that he has a solid foundation upon which to build. And if, in turn, he finds a chronological pattern for some other nation that is in full accord with that of Babylon and Assyria as established by the evidence of Ptolemy and the limmu lists, he may have confidence that his pattern is entirely accurate.

The earliest point where a positive synchronism between Israel and Assyria may be secured is from the reigns of Ahab and Jehu, and Shalmaneser III. We have already noticed that the latter lists Ahab as one of the western allies who fought against him at the Battle of Qarqar, during his sixth year, in the eponymy of Daian-Assur.¹³ Since in this inquiry we propose to deal with absolute chronology and since Ahab's contact with Shalmaneser at Qarqar is a cardinal point of departure, the establishment of the exact date of Qarqar is a matter of

8. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 102 ff.

13. Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. I (Chicago, 1926), secs. 610, 611.

vital importance. The question is whether this date is 854 as given by one group of scholars,¹⁴ or 853 as given by others.¹⁵ The reason for these two datings lies in the fact that on one eponym list, C^a₃, the symbol of Ebeling in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 423, one more eponym is found, Balatu, than occurs on parallel lists for the period, C^a₆, C^b₂, and C^c. Either list C^a₃ is correct and the other lists have mistakenly omitted the name of Balatu, or the latter three lists are correct and some explanation must be found for the insertion of the name "Balatu" on list C^a₃. If list C^a₃ is correct and the insertion of the name "Balatu" stands for an extra eponymy and an extra year, then all dates beyond Balatu will be one year higher than if the other three lists omitting the eponymy of Balatu are historically correct. This is the reason for the divergent dates of 854 and 853 for the Battle of Qarqar and for all years beyond 786 B.C.

Not only does list C^a₃ contain the extra name "Balatu," but on this list the eponym Nabu-shar-usur occupies a different position than it does on the other lists. On C^a₃ the sequence is as follows:

788	Sil-Ishtar	785	Marduk-shar-usur
787	Balatu	784	Nabu-shar-usur
786	Adad-uballit	783	Ninurta-nasir

But on the other lists the following sequence occurs:

787	Sil-Ishtar	784	Marduk-shar-usur
786	Nabu-shar-usur	783	Ninurta-nasir
785	Adad-uballit		

It will thus be seen that on the latter three lists the name of Nabu-shar-usur occupies the place which on C^a₃ is held by Balatu, following Sil-Ishtar and preceding Adad-uballit. If all four lists are correct in the placing of these two names in this particular place—C^a₃ in placing Balatu in this position, and the other three in placing Nabu-shar-usur in that place—then Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur would both have been eponyms during the same year. In that case, however, the latter three lists for some reason gave only Nabu-shar-usur as limmu for the year

14. See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 81; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), pp. 134 ff.; Robert William Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York, 1912), pp. 220, 289; Robert H. Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York, 1941), p. 395; and Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1927), p. 431.

15. See H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (London, 1936), p. 449; Theodore H. Robinson, *A History of Israel* (Oxford, 1934), I, 296; Ebeling and Meissner, *op. cit.*, pp. 420, 434; and Emil Forrer, "Zur Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit," *MVAG*, XX, No. 3 (1915), 5 ff.

786, omitting the name of Balatu, while C^a₃ gave the names of both Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur, with the latter name, for some strange reason, following that of Marduk-shar-usur. If C^a₃ alone is correct in listing both the names of Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur and placing them in the positions they hold on that list, then the other three lists are guilty of two errors, the omission of the name "Balatu" and the eponym year for which it would stand, and the misplacement of the name "Nabu-shar-usur."

Professor Olmstead strongly championed the view that C^a₃ was the correct list and that the peculiarities of the other three lists were due to scribal errors.¹⁶

Professor Forrer, on the other hand, accepted the witness of the lists containing the eponym Nabu-shar-usur for the year 786 as correct and explained the inclusion of the name "Balatu" on C^a₃ by the suggestion that the name of the eponym for an ensuing year was in all likelihood announced before the first of Nisan of the year in which he was to hold office, that the death of Balatu, who had been selected as the eponym for 786, took place after the announcement of his name but before his assumption of office, and that, in consequence, a new eponym, Nabu-shar-usur, was appointed, but that in the most distant provinces datings during the first few months of the year, before word could reach them of the newly appointed eponym, would be in the name of the eponym already deceased, with the scribe responsible for C^a₃ inserting the name "Nabu-shar-usur" in the wrong place, and with the scribes responsible for the other lists simply omitting the name of the deceased Balatu.¹⁷

A determination of the question whether there were one or two eponyms during the year 786 and whether the longer or the shorter chronology is correct, even though the difference is only one of a single year, is vital to our inquiry. One way in which the answer to this question might be obtained is to endeavor to find some fixed point on one side of 786 and another fixed point on the other side of 786 and then to endeavor to find some means by which the number of years for that interval might be secured. Beyond 786 we can take as one fixed point the year when Shalmaneser III came to the throne, which according to the Assyrian Chronicle was in the eponymy of

16. A. T. Olmstead, "The Assyrian Chronicle," *JAOS*, XXXIX (1915), 344 ff.; "Shalmaneser III and the Establishment of the Assyrian Power," *ibid.*, XLI (1921), 374, n. 61; and "Bruno Meissner," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, V (1928-29), 30.

17. Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff.

Tab-Bel. On this side of 786 another fixed point is the year when Tiglath-pileser III came to the throne, which according to the Assyrian Chronicle was in the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur. The date of the eponymy of Nabu-bel-usur is on this side of the eclipse in Bur-Sagale's eponymy of 763, and is thus firmly established by the eponym canon as 745 B.C. If it is true that Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur were both eponyms during the year 786, then the eponym canon gives us the date 859 for the eponymy of Tab-Bel and the accession of Shalmaneser III. But if Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur occupied two separate eponymies, the eponym canon would provide the date 860 for the eponymy of Tab-Bel and the accession of Shalmaneser III. The exact number of years between the accession of Shalmaneser III and that of Tiglath-pileser III may be easily secured from the known lengths of reign of the kings in that interval. These, according to the Khorsabad list and other reliable sources, are as follows:

Shalmaneser III	35
Shamsi-Adad V	13
Adad-nirari III	28
Shalmaneser IV	10
Assur-dan III	18
Assur-nirari V	10
Total	114

Since it was in the year 745 that Assur-nirari V died and that Tiglath-pileser III came to the throne, and since it was 114 years before that, that Shalmaneser III became king, 859 would be the correct date for the accession of Shalmaneser III and the eponymy of Tab-Bel.¹⁸ We thus know that 786 is the eponym year of both Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur, that the chronology of eponym lists C^a6, C^b2, and C^c is indeed correct, that the recording of the name of Nabu-shar-usur between those of Marduk-shar-usur and Ninurta-nasir on C^a3 is wrong, and that all dates of the eponym canon beyond 786 will have to be reduced by one year on the part of those who have accepted the longer chronology.

In the selection of their eponyms the Assyrians at this time were following a specific order of sequence under which the king occupied this position during the second year of his reign. As long as this order

18. It will be noted that this accord between the chronological evidence provided by the lengths of reign of the Assyrian kings for this period and of the names on the limmu lists makes utterly untenable the postulation of a gap in the eponym canon, for it is in this period that the existence of such a gap has been proposed.

was followed, the number of years between the eponymy of one king and that of his successor should be equal to the years of his reign. Let us see how this works out for the longer and the shorter chronologies:

LONG CHRONOLOGY

Date	Name and Position of Eponym		Years between Eponymies	Years of Reign
883.....	Assur-nasir-apli	the king	25	25
858.....	Shulman-asharid	king of Assur	35	35
823.....	Shamshi-Adad	king of [Assyria]	13	13
810.....	Adad-nirari	[king] of Assyria	29	28
781.....	Shulman-asharid	king of Assyria	10	10
771.....	Assur-dan	king of Assyria	18	18
753.....	Assur-nirari	king of Assyria	10	10
743.....	Tukulti-apal-eshar-ra	king of Assyria		

SHORT CHRONOLOGY

Date	Name and Position of Eponym		Years between Eponymies	Years of Reign
882.....	Assur-nasir-apli	the king	25	25
857.....	Shulman-asharid	king of Assur	35	35
822.....	Shamshi-Adad	king of [Assyria]	13	13
809.....	Adad-nirari	[king] of Assyria	28	28
781.....	Shulman-asharid	king of Assyria	10	10
771.....	Assur-dan	king of Assyria	18	18
753.....	Assur-nirari	king of Assyria	10	10
743.....	Tukulti-apal-eshar-ra	king of Assyria		

It will be noticed that, according to the short chronology in the period under review, the official length of a king's reign is in each instance identical with the number of years between the royal eponymies, whereas in the long chronology this is the case with each king except Adad-nirari, where under this arrangement an extra year has somehow crept in. It will be immediately noticed that this is the reign covering the eponymies of Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur, and that it is only when each of these men is assigned an eponymous year that this abnormality of an extra calendar year occurs. It must be evident, then, that Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur were both eponyms during the year 786 and that the longer chronology is in error. If the testimony of the Khorsabad list can be accepted as reliable regarding the lengths of the reigns of the Assyrian kings for this period then the shorter chronology is correct and all dates beyond 786 are one year too early in the longer lists.

It should also be noticed that if Balatu and Nabu-shar-usur occupy separate eponymies, then Adad-nirari must have held the eponymy during the first year of his reign or Shalmaneser held it during his

third year whereas the regular practice during this period and for a century thereafter was for a king to hold the eponymy during his second year of reign.

The evidence we have here presented points definitely to the correctness of the shorter system of Assyrian chronology and thus to 853 rather than to 854 as the date for the eponymy of Daian-Assur and the Battle of Qarqar, and it is in accord with this dating that we will proceed with our chronological pattern for the reigns of the Hebrew kings.

An exact synchronism between Hebrew and Assyrian history is made possible in the early period of the kings by an interesting correlation of events in Israel and Assyria which begin and end the twelve-year period of 853 to 841 B.C. It has already been mentioned that Ahab is listed by Shalmaneser III as one of the kings of the Westland who fought against him in the Battle of Qarqar, and we have seen that this battle was fought in the year 853. Therefore, Ahab was still alive and reigning in Israel sometime in the year 853. Shalmaneser also mentions that he received tribute from Jehu during his expedition to the West in his eighteenth year. This would be in the eponymy of Adad-rimani, 841. Thus Jehu was already reigning over Israel sometime in 841. The questions to be answered are, how long after 853 did Ahab continue to reign, and how long before 841 did Jehu begin to reign? The facts are that Ahab could not have reigned beyond 853 and Jehu could not have begun to reign before 841, because the interval between the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu is exactly twelve years, made up of the reigns of Ahaziah the son and successor of Ahab, and Joram who was slain and succeeded by Jehu. The official length of Ahaziah's reign is given as two years (I Kings 22 : 51), which reckoned according to Israel's nonaccession-year system would make one actual year, and the official length of Joram's reign was twelve years (II Kings 3 : 1), or eleven actual years, which would give a total of twelve years for the reigns of Ahaziah and Joram. Since the interval between the Battle of Qarqar at which Ahab fought in 853, and the time when Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser in 841 is also a period of just twelve years, it is in this period that the reigns of Ahaziah and Joram must have taken place, with 853 as the last year of Ahab and 841 for Jehu's accession. Thus two fixed dates are secured in Hebrew chronology, 853 for the death of Ahab and the accession of Ahaziah, and 841 for the death of Joram and the accession of Jehu. And having secured these two dates as a starting point for our proposed scheme of an absolute chronology for the Hebrew kings, we ought from this

point to be in a position to go backwards and forwards, knowing that if our chronological pattern is correct, we will obtain exact synchronisms at all points of contact with any absolute chronology of neighboring states.

One point that should not be overlooked concerning the year 853 for the accession of Ahaziah and 841 for the death of Joram is that we have here from an Assyrian source a complete confirmation of the use in Israel of the nonaccession-year system of reckoning. If the official length of Ahaziah's reign was two years (I Kings 22:51) and if the official length of Joram's reign was twelve years (II Kings 3:1), and if these two reigns totalling fourteen official years were only twelve actual years, from 853 to 841, it is obvious that Israel was at this period employing the nonaccession-year system.

With 853 fixed as the last year of Ahab, the data in the Massoretic text should enable us to ascertain the date of the first year of Jeroboam I and the schism between Judah and Israel. The official and actual years of reign for this period, deducting from the reign of each king the one year overlap involved when the nonaccession-year system of reckoning is employed, are as follows:

	Official Reign	Actual Reign
Jeroboam I	22 years	21 years
Nadab	2 years	1 year
Baasha	24 years	23 years
Elah	2 years	1 year
Zimri	7 days	7 days
Omri	12 years	11 years
Ahab	22 years	21 years
Total	84 years, 7 days	78 years, 7 days

With an interval of 78 years between the accession of Jeroboam I and the death of Ahab, and with the latter taking place in 853 B.C., we thus secure the date 931 B.C. as the year of Jeroboam's accession and of the schism between Judah and Israel. And, being in possession of this date, we are in a position—if the data with which we shall work are basically sound and if the principles of Hebrew chronology we have set forth are indeed correct—to ascertain the dates for the kings of Judah and Israel to the close of their histories. That is the task before us.

Chapter Four

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, 931-740 B.C.

HAVING set forth the basic principles of the chronological system employed by the Hebrew scribes in the period of the kings, and having in accordance with the method of procedure thus set forth and by means of certain synchronisms of events in Hebrew history with certain established dates in the Assyrian eponym canon secured the date 931 B.C. as the time of the schism and the establishment of the Hebrew monarchies, we will proceed with the reestablishment of the chronological pattern of the kings of Israel and Judah on the basis of the data supplied in the Massoretic text. Attention, however, should first be called to the fact that when the date 931 is given as the accession year of Rehoboam in the Southern Kingdom and the year when Jeroboam I seized the throne in the north, what is actually meant is that Jeroboam came to the throne some time between the first of Nisan, 931, and the first of Nisan, 930, and that Rehoboam's accession took place some time between Tishri 1, 931, and Tishri 1, 930. Inasmuch, however, as the accession of Rehoboam preceded that of Jeroboam, the accession of the latter must have taken place at some time after Tishri 1, 931, and before Nisan 1, 930. All that we can say with complete accuracy as to the time when these two kings began their reigns is that this took place some time after Tishri 1, 931 and before Nisan, 930, and this is better expressed by the symbol 931/30 than by the precise date 931. And due to the fact that in neither Judah nor Israel did the beginning of the regnal year synchronize with the beginning of our calendar year on January 1 and that any particular Hebrew year thus overlapped two of our calendar years, the only correct symbol under the circumstances would be such a dual symbol as 931/30. In a few instances the peculiarities of the combined synchronisms and lengths of reign will give information sufficiently minute to enable us to know in which portion of the year the accession or death of a king took place, and thus in these few instances a symbol so exact as a simple 931 or 930 might be employed, but on the whole we shall, in the interests of accuracy, be held to the use of the dual symbol.

We may say, then, that the year Tishri, 931, to Tishri, 930, was the accession year of Rehoboam, and that his first year was from Tishri, 930, to Tishri, 929 (see the chart at p. 74). But it should be kept in mind that this statement concerning Rehoboam's accession year is not strictly accurate and that, in view of the circumstances, complete accuracy is not possible here, for unless we could know the exact day and month when a king came to the throne we would not be in a position to state the exact time of the year when his accession year actually began. If we knew, for instance, that the death of Solomon had taken place on the last day of Tishri, 931, then the month of Tishri, 931, would belong to the final year of Solomon's reign, and Heshvan, 931, to Elul, 930, would technically be Rehoboam's accession year. However, not being in possession of such precise information concerning the beginning and termination of the reigns of the Hebrew kings, we shall of necessity confine ourselves to the rather loose terminology already employed regarding the year of a king's accession.

It was in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Tishri, 926, to Tishri, 925, that Shishak of Egypt came against Jerusalem during his invasion of Palestine (I Kings 14:25; II Chron. 12:2). This Shishak was the vigorous and able Sheshonk I, founder of Egypt's Twenty-second Dynasty, who left his own record of his Palestinian invasion and of the cities he captured. Breasted gives the date of this invasion as "probably about 926 B.C."¹ This date is almost in complete accord with the chronological scheme here set forth. If the invasion took place in the fall of the year after Tishri, which was not the season when invaders of Palestine usually entered upon their campaigns, then the date was 926; but if it was in the spring of the year, which is much more probable, then the date can be fixed by the chronology of the Massoretic text as 925.

Rehoboam reigned seventeen years (I Kings 14:21; II Chron. 12:13), and was succeeded by his son Abijam, who began his reign in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam (I Kings 15:1; II Chron. 13:1). Since Abijam was a king of Judah where the accession-year system was followed, the reference to the eighteenth year of Jeroboam was to the eighteenth year of that king figured according to the accession-year principle, which was one year later than the eighteenth year of Jeroboam figured according to the nonaccession-year system prevailing in Israel. That year was 913, the year which Jeroboam called his nineteenth year. The accession of Abijam thus took place some time

1. J. H. Breasted, *History of Egypt* (New York, 1921), p. 529.

after Nisan, 913, when Jeroboam's own "eighteenth year" had closed and his nineteenth year began, and before Tishri of that year.

Abijam reigned three years (I Kings 15:2; II Chron. 13:2), and was succeeded by his son Asa in the twentieth year of Jeroboam (I Kings 15:9). This again was the twentieth year of Jeroboam according to the accession-year system, or Jeroboam's own twenty-first year. Asa thus came to the throne some time between Tishri, 911, and Nisan, 910.

Jeroboam I ruled twenty-two years (I Kings 14:20). Since he was a northern king using nonaccession-year reckoning, this was an actual twenty-one years rather than twenty-two. He was succeeded by his son Nadab in the second year of Asa (I Kings 15:25). Nadab being a king of Israel, his synchronism with a king of Judah, in accordance with the system already described, is given in terms of the nonaccession-year system employed in Israel, and thus this second year of Asa was the year which Asa termed the first year of his reign. Nadab thus began to reign between Tishri, 910, and Nisan, 909, and this also marked the termination of the reign of Jeroboam. Nadab ruled two years (I Kings 15:25), and was succeeded by the usurper Baasha in the third year of Asa (I Kings 15:27, 28, 33). It will be noticed that with Nadab having begun his two-year reign in the second year of Asa and having completed it in Asa's third year, we have here a good example of the comparative results of the reckoning of reigns on the accession- and the nonaccession-year basis. The date of Nadab's death and Baasha's accession thus falls between Tishri, 909, and Nisan, 908. Baasha ruled twenty-four years (I Kings 15:33), and was succeeded by his son Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa (I Kings 16:8), between Tishri, 886, and Nisan, 885.

Although according to I Kings 16:6, 8, Baasha died and was succeeded by his son Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, a statement is found in II Chron. 16:1 to the effect that it was in the thirty-sixth year of Asa that Baasha came against Judah and built the city of Ramah. Certainly, if Baasha died in the twenty-sixth year of Asa, he could not have come against Judah ten years later, in Asa's thirty-sixth year. Did the death of Baasha take place in the twenty-sixth year of Asa or was it a fact that Baasha was still alive ten years after that time, building the city of Ramah in Asa's thirty-sixth year according to II Chron. 16:1?

Let us examine the record concerning the reigns of these kings. According to I Kings 15:16, 32, there was war between Asa and Baasha all their days. But this was not necessarily active, open war

during all their reigns, for according to II Chron. 14:1, the land of Judah enjoyed a ten-year period of rest during Asa's reign. This time was evidently devoted to the building up of the nation's defenses—the construction of walls, towers, and gates, the building of new fortified cities, and the development of a huge, well-equipped army (II Chron. 14:6-8). The army gave a good account of itself during the attack of Zerah the Ethiopian who was forced to flee while the cities around Gerar were smitten and plundered (II Chron. 14:9-15). The aftermath of all this must have been a considerable increase of Asa's prestige in the land of Israel, for many of the inhabitants of Ephraim, Manasseh, and Simeon "fell to him out of Israel in abundance, when they saw that the Lord his God was with him" (II Chron. 15:9). At this time a great gathering was held in Jerusalem, in the fifteenth year of Asa's reign, when much of the spoil was offered to the Lord and they made a covenant with God (II Chron. 15:10-18).

It is at this time that two interesting verses are introduced into the record, II Chron. 15:19 and 16:1. These are translated in the King James version as follows: "And there was no *more* war unto the five and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa. In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa Baasha king of Israel came up against Judah, and built Ramah, to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Asa king of Judah." The word "more" is of course not in the original and has been supplied by the translator because it is obvious that there was war in the reign of Asa before his thirty-fifth year. The great gathering in Jerusalem in Asa's fifteenth year came as a result of war and victory in that war, and evidently the spoil which was brought was the spoil of war (II Chron. 15:10, 11), and the rejoicing over the fact that the Lord had given them "rest round about" (II Chron. 15:15) was most certainly a rejoicing in rest from war.

If there had already been war earlier in Asa's reign, what would be the meaning of II Chron. 15:19 as the Hebrew actually reads, that there was no war until Asa's thirty-fifth year? Knox has translated this verse correctly when he gives it, "And war there was none till Asa's reign had reached its thirty-fifth year." And the Septuagint gives it correctly when it says, "And there was no war waged with him until the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Asa." Obviously something is wrong in this statement when we well know that Asa had experienced war before his thirty-fifth year. The difficulty is not solved by the addition of the word "more," in the endeavor to make this text say something that in the Hebrew it does not say. The basic difficulty no doubt has to do with wording supplied by a scribe or

copyist who took a statement concerning certain events which took place during the reign of Asa and which happened in some year the number of which was originally given without qualifications but which the scribe made apply to some specific year in the reign of Asa. In all probability the thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth years of II Chron. 15:19 and 16:1 originally did not apply to the reign of Asa but to the years since the establishment of the divided monarchies. Looked at in this way, the thirty-fifth year since the schism, the time up to which there had been no war in the reign of Asa, would be the year 897/96 B.C., and that year would be the official fourteenth year of Asa's reign. So the information that II Chron. 15:19 actually supplies is that Asa did not experience active war till the year 897/96, which was the fourteenth year of his reign and the thirty-fifth year since the disruption. That, then, would be the year no doubt of Zerah's invasion and defeat and the plundering of the cities of Gerar (II Chron. 14:9-15). This would be followed by a period of great upsurge of national feeling in Judah with an encroachment upon territories bordering the Northern Kingdom (II Chron. 15:8), and the defection to Judah of many members of the northern tribes (II Chron. 15:9), and the great national gathering in Jerusalem in Asa's fifteenth year (II Chron. 15:10-15), this being the thirty-sixth year since the schism, 896/95.

By that time Baasha of Israel, if he were any man of action at all, would certainly have felt that things had gone far enough and that the time had come for counter measures against Judah. These no doubt included the strengthening of his own national defenses, for otherwise he would hardly have dared to take such a step as the building of Ramah at the frontier with the intention of cutting off any further defections to the south (II Chron. 16:1). The record does not inform us as to all the measures taken by Baasha, but they were sufficient to cause Asa to endeavor to meet the threat by purchasing the assistance of Benhadad of Syria (II Chron. 16:2-4; I Kings 15:18-20). Contemporary history does not provide sufficient information concerning this period to be of much assistance in determining the exact chronology involved.

It is significant that the record in Kings of Baasha's undertaking at Ramah makes no mention of which year this might have been. It is hardly conceivable that a king of Israel would take cognizance of the situation prevailing in Asa's fifteenth year, with his own subjects falling away to his rival at the south, and take no measures to meet that situation for twenty-one years, till Asa's thirty-sixth year. By that time both kings would be old and gray, with the time for action—if

action was to be taken—long since past. The patience of Baasha would have been very great indeed if he had stood by quietly during all his reign watching Asa build up his armies, raiding Israel's frontier cities, witnessing his own people falling away to the south, with the situation coming to a crisis in Asa's fifteenth year, and yet continuing to do nothing till Asa's thirty-sixth year and, if I Kings 15:28, 33 and 16:8 are true, till ten years after his own death! Such a picture just does not make sense, whereas the picture secured when II Chron. 15:19 and 16:1 are reckoned, not as the years of Asa but years since the establishment of the divided monarchies, gives both historical and chronological harmony.

It will further be obvious that if the synchronism of II Chron. 16:1 is accepted as historically correct, then the chronological pattern set forth by the data in Kings is completely shattered. But this is a pattern which, in spite of its seeming outward inconsistencies, will when carefully examined be found to possess all the earmarks of historical authenticity. If some method might be found whereby Egyptian chronology of the ninth and tenth centuries B.C. could be established upon its own absolute basis, the exact synchronism of I Kings 14:25 of Shishak's attack against Judah in Rehoboam's fifth year would make possible the full answer to this question. As things stand at present the weight of evidence definitely favors the chronological pattern as presented in Kings, and it is on this basis that we will proceed.

Elah, the successor of Baasha, ruled two years over Israel (I Kings 16:8), when he was slain and succeeded by his chariot commander, Zimri, in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:10, 15), 885/84. After only seven days on the throne, Zimri was followed by Omri, which would again be in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:15, 16), between Tishri, 885, and Nisan, 884.

Omri ruled twelve years and was succeeded by his son Ahab in the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:23, 29), between Tishri, 874, and Nisan, 873. The dates for the beginning and the close of Omri's reign are thus definitely fixed, the twelve official years, eleven actual years, of his rulership falling between Asa's twenty-seventh and thirty-eighth years. When Omri, then commander of the armies of Israel encamped against the Philistine town of Gibbethon, was made king by the people upon their receipt of the word of the death of Baasha at the hands of Zimri (I Kings 16:15, 16), he did not at first control all the land of Israel, since half of the people followed Tibni (I Kings 16:21). Though the length of Tibni's rule is not stated, there

are indications as to when this came to an end and when Omri took control of the entire state. Of the twelve years of Omri's rule, six were said to have been from Tirzah as his capital, and he is said to have begun to reign over Israel in the thirty-first year of Asa (I Kings 16:23). But we have already seen that Omri began his reign at the time of Zimri's assassination of Baasha, in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, 885/84, so this statement that he began to rule in the thirty-first year of Asa would clearly indicate this as the beginning of his sole reign and would provide 880 as the date for the end of the reign of Tibni. It is altogether probable that there is some connection between Tibni's rival rule and the fact that Omri was restricted to Tirzah as his capital for the first six years of his reign, after which he purchased the hill of Samaria and established there the capital of Israel (I Kings 16:23, 24).

Coming back to Judah, we learn that Asa, who came to the throne in 911/10, ruled forty-one years (I Kings 15:10; II Chron. 16:13). Inasmuch as he was a southern king, the reckoning would be on the accession-year basis and his official years would be actual years, which would bring the termination of his reign and the beginning of that of his successor Jehoshaphat in 870/69. That year should be the fourth of Ahab, accession-year basis, and so it is declared to be (I Kings 22:41).

Ahab's rule over Israel continued for twenty-two years (I Kings 16:29), from 874/73 to the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, when he was succeeded by his son Ahaziah (I Kings 22:51). This synchronism falls between Nisan and Tishri, 853.² Ahaziah ruled two years (I Kings 22:51), and was succeeded by Joram, another son of Ahab, in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1) and in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), sometime between Nisan and Tishri, 852. The double-dating in this instance is of interest and importance, for it points to the existence of a coregency in Judah at this time, this being the second year that Jehoram was ruling with his father Jehoshaphat. The first year of Jehoram's coregency with his father Jehoshaphat would thus have been in Jehoshaphat's own sixteenth year, the seventeenth according to Israel's nonaccession-year system, 854/53. But continuing with the reign of Joram of Israel, son

2. In the Harvard excavations of Ahab's palace at Samaria, fragments of an alabaster jar were found bearing an inscription of Osorkon II (see George Andrew Reisner, Clarence Stanley Fisher, and David Gordon Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908-1910* [Cambridge, Mass., 1924], I, 81). Breasted's date for Osorkon is 874-853, and, according to this, his years would be identical to those of Ahab.

of Ahab, we find that his reign lasted twelve years (II Kings 3:1) when he was slain and succeeded by the usurper Jehu (II Kings 9:23, 24). Joram's reign is of course figured on the nonaccession-year basis and terminated in 841.

It is at this period of Israel's history that accurately dated events in Assyrian history can for the first time be definitely tied into Hebrew history. Ahab was listed among the western allies who fought against Shalmaneser III at Qarqar in the eponym-year of Daian-Assur,³ the sixth year of Shalmaneser III, 853.⁴ Unfortunately, no record has been preserved of the exact year of Ahab's reign when Qarqar was fought, but, as we have already seen, this must have been in his last year, since it is known that twelve years after Qarqar, in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser III, the latter received tribute from Jehu,⁵ and there is also an interval of exactly twelve years between the last year of Ahab and the first year of Jehu. We thus secure 853 as the year of Ahab's death,⁶ and 841 for the accession of Jehu.

3. Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. I (Chicago, 1926), secs. 563, 610, 611, 646.

4. "Dajanu-Assur," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, Vol. II (1938); A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, II (1942), 88.

5. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 672.

6. Inasmuch as Ahab was slain in battle by the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead (I Kings 22:3, 34, 35), this campaign must likewise have occurred in the year 853, following Qarqar. The month and day of the battle of Qarqar are not given, but Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh on this campaign on Airu 14 and crossed the Euphrates at its flood (Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, sec. 610). This could not have been much later than the last of June, for in this month the flood is already on the decline and in late July the Euphrates reaches a low-water stage. For modern recordings of the Euphrates flow see M. G. Ionides, *The Regime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London, 1937), pp. 39 ff. The Battle of Qarqar was thus probably fought during July or possibly early August. This would, however, leave Ahab ample time to return to Samaria and, with his forces already mustered, conduct the campaign at Ramoth-gilead well before the close of the season that year. For three years he had been at peace with Syria (I Kings 22:1). The suggestion has been made that the alliance between Israel and Syria was prompted by a common fear of the growing power of Assyria (see Eberhard Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse [London, 1885], I, 189-90; II, 323; Francis Brown, *Assyriology: Its Use and Abuse in Old Testament Study* [New York, 1885], pp. 53-62). Threatened by the same danger, Ahab and Benhadad were for a time able to bury their differences. The Syrian king was no doubt at the head of the western allies, for it is always he who is listed first in Shalmaneser's accounts of Qarqar. And it was he who furnished the largest number of infantry—twenty thousand out of the fifty-odd thousand involved are the figures given. It is altogether possible that Syria suffered a disproportionate share of the huge losses that Shalmaneser claims to have inflicted on the enemy and that Ahab with his chariots might have given

With the accession of Jehu in Israel fixed at 841, this date must also mark the end of the reign of Ahaziah, who was slain by Jehu at the same time that he slew Joram (II Kings 9:23-27), and the accession of Athaliah, who succeeded Ahaziah (II Kings 11:1, 3). It is important that the above date be definitely established, for it will assist materially in the reconstruction of the chronology of Judah for the period immediately preceding. Without such a check there are some items which might otherwise lead to erroneous conclusions.

Ahaziah, the successor of Jehoram of Judah, ruled only one year (II Kings 8:26; II Chron. 22:2). If the accession-year principle of reckoning is applied to that year, as it has been to all other kings of Judah thus far since the schism, then Ahaziah came to the throne in 842, the year prior to his death in 841. The predecessor of Ahaziah was Jehoram, who ruled eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20). If the eighth year of Jehoram was 842, then he would have come to the throne in 850 according to the accession-year system. But the record states that he came to the throne in the fifth year of Joram of Israel (II Kings 8:16), and that year, according to the accession-year principle thus far in use in Judah, is 847. Thus there seems to exist a discrepancy of three years if the accession-year system is used for this period in Judah.

But we have already seen in chapter two, that the totals of the years of reign of the kings of Judah in the period immediately following prove that at that time the accession-year system was no longer in use in the Southern Kingdom, but that there had been a shift to the nonaccession-year system. The difficulty to which we have just called attention in the previous paragraph in the endeavor to work out the synchronisms of Judah with Israel at the time of Jehoram when the accession-year system is followed is again an indication that a change of system must at this time have taken place. Yet again, we find the dual synchronization given for Ahaziah's accession, one record giving this in the eleventh year of Joram of Israel (II Kings 9:29), while

a particularly good account of himself. At any rate, immediately after the battle was over, Ahab felt himself able to come to grips with his old foe and recent ally. On his return to Samaria he might have determined to square accounts with Syria before dispersing his troops, and Jehoshaphat was probably invited to Samaria with a large retinue and showered with hospitality (II Chron. 18:2) for the express purpose of securing his co-operation in the contemplated campaign for the recovery of Ramoth-gilead. The accession of Jehoram as coregent with Jehoshaphat in 854/53 may have had some connection with his father's forthcoming participation in the campaign against Syria and may have had its beginning in 853, after Jehoshaphat's visit to Ahab and his decision to join forces with Ahab.

another gives it as the twelfth year (II Kings 8:25). Such a double-dating for the accession of Ahaziah in terms of Joram is significant, for it provides still a third clue to the fact that at this period the Southern Kingdom was just in the process of shifting its method of reckoning from the accession- to the nonaccession-year system, with one group of scribes accepting the new system and in harmony with the usual custom making use of it in the synchronisms with the kings of Israel, and with another group of scribes of the conservative class refusing to follow the innovation and continuing to cling to the old system. The change, as we have already mentioned, was introduced either by Jehoram, whose wife was Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (II Kings 8:18, 26), or possibly by Athaliah herself when she took the throne of her slain son, with the reckoning in this latter instance thrown back by the scribes to include the reign of Jehoram, for the nonaccession-year system now evident in the records of Judah goes back to the reign of Jehoram.

Let us now go back again over this period and notice the results when the evidence is accepted in regard to Judah's shift from the accession- to the nonaccession-year system and the pattern of the kings is established on that basis. Ahaziah's one-year reign, which, as already ascertained, ended in 841, also had its beginning in that year. Since the years of Joram of Israel were reckoned from Nisan to Nisan and Ahaziah's of Judah from Tishri to Tishri, and since Joram's eleventh year, accession-year reckoning, or twelfth year, nonaccession-year reckoning, extended from Nisan, 841, to Nisan, 840, the reign of Ahaziah must have begun some time after Nisan and terminated some time before Tishri, 841. Jehoram, predecessor of Ahaziah, reigned eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20), and this, according to the nonaccession-year system now being employed for the reckoning of Judah's kings, brought the beginning of his reign to some time between Tishri, 849, and Tishri, 848. The synchronism given for the beginning of Jehoram's reign is the fifth year of Joram in Israel (II Kings 8:16), and this, being in the fifth year according to the nonaccession-year method just introduced into Judah with the reign of this king, is also the fifth year of Joram of Israel, nonaccession-year reckoning. And that year, as already established, is Nisan, 848, to Nisan, 847. So the time when Jehoram of Judah came to the throne can be fixed at some time between Nisan and Tishri, 848. This would of course be the beginning of his sole reign, for it will be remembered that the double-dating of the accession of Joram of Israel, both in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1) as

well as in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), pointed to a coregency between Jehoram and his father Jehoshaphat, of which 853/52 was the second year and 854/53 was the first.

The details concerning the reign of Jehoram of Judah thus are as follows: beginning of coregency with Jehoshaphat, 854/53; beginning of sole reign, 849/48, or in this case more exactly, 848; end of reign, 842/41, or again more exactly, 841. It will be noticed that when the official length of Jehoram's reign is given as eight years (II Kings 8:17; II Chron. 21:5, 20), this is the eight years of his sole reign, reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system. In addition to those eight years he had ruled five years as coregent with his father. When the accession of Joram of Israel is stated to have taken place in the second year of Jehoram (II Kings 1:17), this is the second year of Jehoram's five-year coregency. Thus, according to this synchronism, Jehoram began to reign as coregent before Joram came to the throne in Israel, while according to II Kings 8:16, he did not begin his sole reign till the fifth year of Joram. That this is exactly what took place is proved by the double synchronism of Joram's accession—in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), and the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1).

We have mentioned the fact that Jehoram of Judah began his sole reign in 849/48, and that year must therefore also mark the termination of the reign of Jehoshaphat. Jehoshaphat ruled twenty-five years (I Kings 22:42; II Chron. 20:31), which would bring the first year of his reign in 873/72. We have seen, however, that the reign of Asa, father of Jehoshaphat, did not terminate till 870/69. It will thus be seen that Jehoshaphat must have had a coregency of three or four years with his father before beginning his sole reign. Was there any condition which might call for such a coregency? The Chronicler has preserved the report that in the thirty-ninth year of his reign Asa was "diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great" (II Chron. 16:12). The reason for this coregency is no doubt to be found in the precarious state of the aged king's health at this time, making advisable the appointment of his son as regent to take over the affairs of state⁷ and thus Jehoshaphat's twenty-five years of reign began in 873/72 in a coregency until 870/69 with his aged, stricken father.

As was the case with his son Jehoram, Jehoshaphat began to num-

7. A number of Biblical scholars have come to this same conclusion. Begrich (*Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda und die Quellen des Rabmens der Königsbücher* [Tübingen, 1929], p. 130) calls attention to the fact that LXX Vaticanus a b credits Asa with only 39 years.

ber the years of his reign from the time of his father's death and the beginning of his own sole reign, following, as had the kings before him, the accession-year system. When the synchronisms of the accession of Ahaziah and Joram in Israel are given, they are given in terms of such a reckoning. But when the total of the years of Jehoshaphat's reign is given as twenty-five (I Kings 22:42; II Chron. 20:31), this total, unlike that of his son Jehoram, includes the number of years he had reigned jointly with his father. It is such variations of procedure as this, readily understandable when once their existence is known but heretofore not ascertained and not understood, which have made the reconstruction of the chronological outline of the Hebrew kings such a baffling problem.

We have now carried the chronology of Israel through to the death of Joram and the accession of Jehu, and in Judah to the death of Ahaziah and the accession of Athaliah. This was the year 841. The length of Athaliah's reign is not recorded, but it is stated that the infant Joash was hidden in the temple for a period of six years (II Kings 11:3; II Chron. 22:12), and that in the seventh year he was brought forth and made king, with Athaliah being put to death (II Kings 11:4, 12, 16, 20; II Chron. 23:1, 11, 15). The reign of Athaliah should thus be seven years. That this is correct is proved by the information that Joash began to rule in the seventh year of Jehu (II Kings 12:1), and Jehu, it will be remembered, began to reign in the same year as did Athaliah. It is significant, moreover, that this is according to the nonaccession-year system only recently introduced into Judah. A reaction might have been expected at this time and a return to the old system of reckoning. There was a reform, it is true, and a return to some of the old customs, but the record states explicitly that this was only partial and by no means as complete as was desired by the more conservative element (II Kings 12:3). The Chronicler has preserved the report that when Zechariah, a son of Jehoiada the priest who had championed the cause of the infant Joash and had preserved his life and placed him on the throne, issued a reprimand for the failure to institute a more complete reform, he was stoned at the command of the king, and this in the court of the House of the Lord, and that, because of his having followed such a course, Joash was beset by judgments sent upon him by God and was ultimately slain as the result of a conspiracy, to be buried not in the sepulchers of the kings but in the city of David (II Chron. 24:18-26). Certainly, too much in the way of a return to the old ways is hardly to be expected from such a king as this.

Athaliah came to the throne between Nisan and Tishri, 841, and

reigned until the same period in 835, which would be seven years according to nonaccession-year reckoning. She was succeeded by the infant Joash who ruled forty years (II Kings 12:1; II Chron. 24:1), to 797/96, nonaccession-year reckoning.

Jehu was king over Israel twenty-eight years (II Kings 10:36), from some time between Nisan and Tishri, 841, to 814/13. He was succeeded by his son Jehoahaz who began his seventeen-year reign in the twenty-third year of Joash of Judah (II Kings 13:1), between Tishri, 814, and Nisan, 813. His kingship terminated in 798, and he was succeeded by his son Jehoash in the thirty-seventh year of Joash (II Kings 13:10).

This last synchronism is of considerable interest and importance, for it is a synchronism of a king of Israel with a king of Judah, not according to the nonaccession-year system which has thus far been employed in Israel since the beginning of its history but which is here impossible, but according to the accession-year system. The thirty-seventh year of Joash of Judah, nonaccession-year reckoning, terminated in Tishri, 799, so it will be seen that Jehoash of Israel whose reign did not begin till some time after Nisan, 798, could not have had a synchronism with that year, and that the thirty-seventh year of Joash, with which his accession did synchronize, was the thirty-seventh year according to the accession-year system, this being Tishri, 799, to Tishri, 798. The employment of such a synchronism for a king of Israel, on the accession-year basis, would indicate a shift from nonaccession- to accession-year reckoning. That Israel did indeed abandon the nonaccession-year system which she had employed thus far from the beginning of her history and that she now made a shift to the accession-year method is further indicated by the fact that all the reigns of the kings of Israel till the end of that nation are henceforth reckoned according to the accession-year system. The date of the accession of Jehoash of Israel can therefore be established as sometime between Nisan and Tishri, 798. The same year marked the first preserved date according to Israel's newly adopted accession-year method. The Northern Kingdom had at length forsaken the system of reckoning employed in Egypt for that in use in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys.

It is also of interest that at the very time when Israel made a shift from nonaccession- to accession-year reckoning, Judah did likewise, for it will be found that from this time onward, all the kings of Judah to the end of that kingdom likewise reckoned their reigns on the accession-year basis. The date for the termination of the reign of

Joash, 797/96, has already been noted. Joash was succeeded by his son Amaziah in the second year of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:1). This synchronism is now reckoned by the scribes on the accession-year basis, bringing the beginning of Amaziah's reign to some time between Nisan and Tishri, 796. This date marks the first recorded instance of Judah's reckoning according to the readopted accession-year system. It will be recalled that this was the method employed by Judah at the time of the schism and that its use was continued to the reign of Jehoram and his wife Athaliah, when, in the year 848, a shift was made to the nonaccession-year system then in use in Israel. And now in the year 796 we find Judah again using accession-year reckoning. It can hardly be a mere coincidence that both Israel and Judah should have given up the nonaccession-year system and adopted accession-year reckoning at practically the same time, though one would hardly expect collaboration between such kings as Jehoash and Amaziah. Since it was the accession-year system which was followed by Assyria and inasmuch as Assyria was now beginning to be very much in evidence in the affairs of the West, this shift to the accession-year system in both Israel and Judah may well be indicative of the growing power of Assyrian influence in western Asia and may point to a rather wide adoption of this system of reckoning in these areas at this time.

The period immediately before us presents a number of chronological problems of unusual difficulty. To put together the various bits of available data and to construct therefrom the correct historical pattern of the Hebrew monarchies for the period in question will not be easy. The information on record, in view of what actually took place, is so scanty as to hardly give a hint of the real conditions, and yet it is sufficiently minute to hold the student to certain fixed avenues of procedure and ultimately to point the correct way out from the maze of information and lack of information confronting him. Much of the chronology of the period revolves around the long reign of Azariah of Judah, for no less than five kings of Israel have their reigns dated in terms of this Judean king, so the correct establishment of the years of Azariah's reign will be a matter of major importance.

The year 797/96 for the accession of Amaziah of Judah has already been secured. Amaziah ruled twenty-nine years (II Kings 14:2; II Chron. 25:1). Reckoned according to Judah's readopted accession-year system, the date for the termination of this reign would be 768/67. In Israel we have already noticed the accession of Jehoash in

798. Jehoash reigned sixteen years (II Kings 13:10), which would bring the termination of his reign, according to the accession-year system now also in use in Israel, to some time between Nisan, 782, and Nisan, 781. A check on the accuracy of these dates for the termination of the reigns of Amaziah and Jehoash is available in an interesting statement recorded in II Kings 14:17, to the effect that Amaziah of Judah lived fifteen years after the death of Jehoash. It will be seen that the dates here given, 782/81 for the death of Jehoash, and 768/67 for the death of Amaziah, are in harmony with this requirement. And having these dates we are also in possession of dates for the accession of the successors to these two kings, 768/67 for the beginning of the reign of Azariah, son and successor of Amaziah, and 782/81 for Jeroboam II, son and successor of Jehoash.

Let us now approach the matter from another angle and notice the results. Jeroboam II came to the throne in the fifteenth year of Amaziah (II Kings 14:23). This synchronism falls between Tishri, 781, and Nisan, 780, and is in harmony with the dates already given. But the synchronism given for the accession of Azariah is the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam (II Kings 15:1). If Jehoash died and Jeroboam began to rule in 782/81, which we have seen is definitely the case, and if Amaziah died and Azariah began to rule in 768/67, which we have also seen is clearly the case, then the year 768/67, when Azariah began his reign, is the fifteenth year since Jeroboam began his reign in 782/81. But what, then, is to be done about the synchronism of II Kings 15:1, which states that it was in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam that Azariah began his reign? There are those who might be tempted to say that this synchronism is obviously in error and should be discarded. But might there not be some other explanation? If this statement is in error that fact will in due time manifest itself and, if our historical reconstruction is to be correct, will need to be treated as such. But if this statement is correct and if it reveals certain historical information which otherwise would not be known to us, our historical reconstruction would hardly be in accord with the facts if this item is neglected. And if correct, the data here supplied will be found to be in harmony with all other reliable historical data regarding this period. So before rejecting the synchronism of II Kings 15:1 as in error, let us endeavor to ascertain what the historical facts might be that are therein contained.

If 768/67, when Amaziah died and Azariah began his reign, marks both the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam's reign (II Kings 15:1) and also the fifteenth year of this reign since 782/81 when Jehoash

died, it would simply mean that Jeroboam had ruled twelve years jointly with his father before the father died, and that the synchronism of II Kings 15:1, instead of being expressed in terms of Jeroboam's sole reign, is expressed in terms of the beginning of his coregency. Accepting, then, the testimony of this seemingly erroneous synchronism of II Kings 15:1 as historically correct, it would provide the date 793/92 as the year when Jeroboam began to rule jointly with his father.

If we have correctly reconstructed this particular portion of Hebrew history, and if it is indeed a fact that Jeroboam II began to rule with his father in the year 793/92, then this fact will be in harmony with the complete historical pattern of the times and with any reliable data applying thereto. Specifically, in this instance, if the synchronism of II Kings 15:1 is correct, it provides us not only with information concerning the existence of a coregency between Jeroboam II and his father Jehoash, but it also provides the date of the beginning of that coregency, 793/92, only five years after Jehoash began to reign. What the reasons might be that prompted Jehoash thus early in his reign to associate his son with him on the throne are not revealed. But the date 793/92 for the beginning of Jeroboam's coregency is a date of vital importance, for Jeroboam followed the practice of counting the years of his reign not from the beginning of his sole reign but from the beginning of his coregency. And if 793/92 is the first year of this coregency, we will then be in a position to secure the date for the termination of Jeroboam's reign, a date which would elude us except for the recognition of the existence of this coregency and the information concerning the year when it began. Jeroboam ruled forty-one years (II Kings 14:23), to some point between Nisan, 753, and Nisan, 752. And now, being in possession of the date for the termination of Jeroboam's reign, we will be in a position to assign correctly the dates of Jeroboam's successors. It will be recognized that, for the period immediately before us, this is a matter of considerable importance, for there is no period in the chronology of the kings that presents greater problems or more trying perplexities than the period upon which we are about to enter.

Going back again to Judah, the date of Amaziah's death and of Azariah's accession, 768/67, has already been given—a date synchronizing with the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam's reign, when the years of that king are reckoned from the beginning of his coregency with his father. Attention has already been called to the fact that no

less than five kings of Israel have their reigns dated in terms of the years of Azariah.

Let us notice the first of these synchronisms. Zachariah, successor to Jeroboam II, came to the throne in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8). The year of Jeroboam's death and Zachariah's accession has already been established as 753/52. Some time between Nisan, 753, and Nisan, 752, should, then, synchronize with the thirty-eighth year of Azariah. Since Amaziah died and was succeeded by Azariah in 768/67, the period from Tishri, 754, to Tishri, 753, would be the fourteenth year that Azariah had ruled since his father's death. But how can this also be his thirty-eighth year, as it would have to be if the synchronism of II Kings 15:8 is correct? Once more we are face to face with a synchronism that seems to be grossly in error. But once more we may find in this seeming discrepancy information of vital importance not otherwise available. And again, if this portion of Judah's history is to be correctly reconstructed so that it will harmonize with the history of Israel and of other neighboring states, then the full evidence must be taken into consideration and allowed to have its bearing upon the pattern that is produced, for otherwise the result would be an incomplete or distorted picture of the times. If it is true that in 754/53 Azariah had been ruling fourteen years since his father's death, and if it is also true that this is already the thirty-eighth year since he had begun to reign, then II Kings 15:8 contains the important information that Azariah had already been on the throne some twenty-four years before the death of his father, and that the scribe who recorded the synchronism of Zachariah's accession did so in terms of the period when Azariah first came to the throne and not in terms of his sole reign after Amaziah's death. And if it is also true that any other synchronisms on record of the accession of Israelite kings during Azariah's reign are reckoned upon a similar basis, and if it is further true that the length of Azariah's rulership is expressed not in terms of his sole reign but of his full reign, then certainly the information of II Kings 15:8 is of the highest importance and altogether vital toward the construction of a correct chronology of the times.

If 754/53 is indeed the thirty-eighth year since Azariah had come to the throne, as is indicated by the synchronism of II Kings 15:8, then we secure the date 791/90 as the year when he first began to reign. Amaziah in turn had begun his reign in 797/96, only six years before Azariah came to the throne, and thus, during the twenty-nine

years of Amaziah's reign (II Kings 14:2; II Chron. 25:1), Azariah had been on the throne the surprisingly long period of twenty-three or twenty-four years. If this is true, how can it be accounted for? It will be noticed that in the record of Azariah's accession the statement is made that "the people of Judah took Azariah, which was sixteen years old, and made him king instead of his father Amaziah" (II Kings 14:21. Cf. II Chron. 26:1, 3). Just when was it that Azariah was a mere lad only sixteen years old—at the time when his father had completed his long reign of twenty-nine years, or at some earlier period in his father's life? And just when was it that this sixteen-year-old boy was first elevated to the throne by the will of the people—when his father was already dead and buried, or at some earlier time? Do we have a record of anything that might prompt a turning of the people against Amaziah and result in a movement for the early coronation of the youthful Azariah? It will be remembered that Amaziah had engaged in an ill-conceived and unprovoked war against Jehoash of Israel, in which he suffered a humiliating defeat resulting in his own capture by the enemy, the entrance of the armies of Israel into the capital of Judah, the breaking down of a section of the wall of Jerusalem, the plunder of the treasures of the palace and temple, and the taking of hostages to Samaria (II Kings 14:8-14; II Chron. 25:17-24). In all likelihood it was this totally uncalled-for war and entirely unnecessary disaster which so stung the people of Judah that they turned against their foolhardy monarch and forced the elevation to the throne of his sixteen-year-old son. Amaziah in all probability never regained his popularity or his kingdom, for the record is that he ended his days after a conspiracy and a flight to Lachish where his assassination took place (II Kings 14:19, 20; II Chron. 25:27, 28). And although in the record the statement of Azariah's elevation to the throne follows the account of the conspiracy and assassination at Lachish, it is no doubt the statement of an event that took place much earlier in Amaziah's reign.

If Azariah did come to the throne in the year 791/90, and if we proceed with our chronological reconstruction of the period ahead upon such a basis, the result will be a pattern of Hebrew history in full accord with contemporary events in western Asia. The evidence we have so far presented points definitely to 791/90 as the year of Azariah's accession, and it is upon this basis that we will proceed, allowing the results to speak for themselves.

The accession of Zachariah as Jeroboam's successor has already been mentioned. Since the forty-first and last year of Jeroboam began

with Nisan, 753, and since the thirty-eighth year of Azariah, in which Zachariah came to the throne (II Kings 15:8), terminated with Tishri, 753, it was sometime between Nisan and Tishri, 753, that Zachariah began his reign. Zachariah ruled only six months (II Kings 15:8), and was followed by the usurper Shallum in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:10, 13). The fact that Zachariah began to reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8), and that, after a reign of only six months, his successor came to the throne in the thirty-ninth year of Azariah is evidence that it was the last six months of Azariah's thirty-eighth year, Nisan to Tishri, and not the first six months, Tishri to Nisan, which overlapped Zachariah's reign. Zachariah thus having begun to reign sometime between Nisan and Tishri, 753, he terminated his reign sometime between Tishri, 753, and Nisan, 752. The one-month reign of Shallum (II Kings 15:13), Zachariah's successor, must, therefore, have occurred sometime between Tishri, 753, and Nisan, 752.

Shallum was in turn assassinated by Menahem, who took the throne during the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:14, 17). Unless there can be certainty as to the exact date when Shallum's reign of one month occurred, whether in 753 or 752, there can be no certainty as to precisely when Menahem's reign began. If Zachariah began his six-month rule in Nisan (or soon thereafter) of 753, Shallum's reign could have fallen entirely within the year 753. In such a case the accession year of Menahem would be 753/52. If, however, Zachariah's reign did not begin until Elul, 753, it would have terminated in Adar, 752, and with Shallum's reign beginning less than a month before the first of Nisan, it would have carried over into that month. In such a case, the accession year of Menahem would be dated 752/51 rather than 753/52. The information given in the above connection is not sufficient to indicate which of these dates is correct.

If 753/52 is taken as the accession year of Menahem, his ten-year reign (II Kings 15:17) would terminate in 743/42, and then the accession year of Pekahiah, son and successor of Menahem (II Kings 15:22), would be Nisan, 743, to Nisan, 742. But Pekahiah came to the throne in the fiftieth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:23), and that year is from Tishri, 742, to Tishri, 741. Under this arrangement there would be no time when the accession year of Pekahiah would overlap the fiftieth year of Azariah, and therefore this cannot be correct. If, however, 752/51 is taken as the accession year of Menahem, his ten-year reign would terminate in 742/41, and the months of Tishri to Nisan of Pekahiah's accession year would fall within the fiftieth

year of Azariah. It is clear, therefore, that the second of the two positions postulated above is correct, and that Zachariah came to the throne in Elul, 753, and terminated his reign in Adar, 752; Shallum's reign began in Adar and terminated in Nisan, 752; and Menahem ascended the throne in Nisan, 752. His accession year can thus be set at 752/51, his death in 742/41,⁸ and the accession of Pekahiah in 742/41.

Pekahiah ruled two years (II Kings 15:23), to 740/39. Since his accession year synchronized with the fiftieth year of Azariah, his second and final year would synchronize with the fifty-second year of Azariah, who ruled fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2; II Chron. 26:3), to 740/39.

It will be noticed that all the reckoning thus far of the kings of Judah and Israel has in our reconstruction been in strict accord with the data of the Massoretic text of the Book of Kings. The data of Chronicles has been in exact agreement with that of Kings except for the difficulty discussed in connection with II Chron. 16:1. So closely are the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah woven together into a single pattern by the recorded data that only a very rigid reconstruction is possible. Any deviation from the basic requirements either as to synchronisms or lengths of reign leads only to discord and confusion, not only in one place but frequently in many. Often it appears as if no pattern can be produced unless some number somewhere is altered, but once a modification is made in one place, no matter how slight it might be, it will be found that another is called for somewhere else, and still another and another, until a whole series of adjustments has been made with the resultant pattern far out of harmony with the data as they have come down to us. If the data of the kings as found in the Massoretic text are indeed the basically correct details of the reigns of the rulers of Israel and Judah, then these details must be adhered to in the reconstruction of the chronological pattern of the Hebrew states, and any neglect, modification, or wrong application of these data can result only in a distorted pattern, out of harmony with itself and with the pattern of events in neighboring states. Many a chronological system thus produced is only the wreckage of a once harmonious scheme.

8. It will be noticed that this date for Menahem, 752/51-742/41, allows for an overlap between Menahem and Tiglath-pileser III (745-727), as II Kings 15:19 and I Chron. 5:26 require there should be. The questions as to the identification of Tiglath-pileser and Pul, the exact time of Menahem's contact with Tiglath-pileser, and how the above date for Menahem can be harmonized with the dates of his successors will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

THE CONTACTS OF TIGLATH-PILESER III WITH AZARIAH AND MENAHEM

IF THE chronological outline that has just been presented is indeed the absolute chronology of Israel and Judah for the period in question, then we must expect exact synchronisms with the absolute chronology of Assyria at any and all points at which precise contacts between the two nations can be established. In securing such exact synchronisms, however, we would have to make as certain of the correct chronology of the one nation as of the other. As any date in Hebrew history that might synchronize with any absolute date in Assyrian history would have to be correct, so any date in Assyrian history which would synchronize with any absolute date in Hebrew history would likewise have to be correct.

Accepted dates, however, both in Hebrew and secular history, are not always absolute dates. It is true in every field of endeavor that that which has long been accepted as truth is not always truth. In our present quest it must be kept in mind that it is entirely possible that we will find dates, in Assyrian as well as Hebrew history, which have long been accepted but which careful investigation will reveal are not entirely correct. Any dates that are absolutely accurate will stand the test of the most searching analysis—the more minute and careful the investigation, the more certain and the more voluminous will be the evidence that they are sound. But dates long accepted as sound yet not actually so will not stand the test of careful scrutiny—somewhere or other weaknesses will be found revealing the fact that they are in error.

The well-known contacts of Tiglath-pileser III with Azariah and Menahem may be of service in testing the accuracy of the Biblical and Assyrian dates for this period.

One of the first questions to arise in this connection is the identity of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III. According to II Kings 15:19, 20, Menahem paid tribute to Pul, and in I Chron. 5:26 the names of Pul and Tiglath-pileser are given as conquerors of Israel. Owing to the extreme difficulties met with in the endeavor to synchronize the Bibli-

cal and Assyrian chronology of this period, certain scholars for a time took the position that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were two distinct individuals. With Tiglath-pileser coming to the throne in 745 and with 761 as the terminal year of Menahem according to the supposed "Biblical" chronology, no contacts of course were possible between these two kings and it became necessary, if the dates set forth for Menahem's reign were to stand, to devise the existence of some Assyrian king ruling at the time of the supposed reign of Menahem with whom the latter might have been in contact. The Biblical references to a king of Assyria by the name of Pul and the absence of any information concerning a king by such a name in Assyrian inscriptions thus provided opportunity for postulating the reign of a king whose very existence had completely dropped from Assyrian records.

In view of the fact, however, that Tiglath-pileser in his annals claimed the receipt of tribute from Menahem,¹ it seemed clear that the reigns of these two kings were contemporaneous and that the supposed years of reign of either the one or the other were in error. And in view of the fact that the Biblical record states that Menahem paid tribute to a king of Assyria by the name of Pul, there was strong probability that this Pul was the Tiglath-pileser who claimed the receipt of tribute from Menahem. Many years ago Schrader presented convincing arguments that Pul and Tiglath-pileser must be the same individual.² Indisputable proof of their identity is provided by notations from a Babylonian king list and the Babylonian Chronicle where, in a list of the Babylonian kings, Tiglath-pileser appears by his usual Assyrian name on the one list and by his name Pulu on the other, as shown on page 77.³

The text in I Chron. 5:26, "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and he carried them away," has often been cited as proof that the Bible supports the position that Pul and Tiglath-pileser III were two individuals. It has been pointed out, however,⁴ that inas-

1. Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. I (Chicago, 1926), sec. 772.

2. Eberhard Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse (London, 1885), I, 218 ff.

3. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* (5th ed.; Stuttgart, 1926), I, Part II, 36 ff. Translation from the Babylonian Chronicle copied from a translation made from the unpublished Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of Chicago. The text appears in *CT*, Vol. XXXIV, Pls. 46-47.

4. Joseph Horner, "Biblical Chronology," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XX (1898), 237.

much as the Hebrew verb "carried" is here in the singular, as it is correctly translated with the singular pronoun "he," this verse definitely conveys the idea that Pul and Tiglath-pileser were one and the same and that the correct translation of the *waw* introducing the epexegetical phrase concerning Tiglath-pileser should be "even." Thus the verse would read, "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria, even the spirit of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, and he carried them away." As the verse is now translated in English, it is ambiguous and grammatically incorrect, for the singular pronoun "he" cannot stand as the antecedent for the plural

BABYLONIAN KING LIST, COL. IV	BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE, COL. I
Line	Line
5. Nabu-shum-ukin his son for 1 month and 12 days. 7. Ukin-zer . . . 3 years.	17. One month and 2 days Shum-ukin reigned in Babylon. 18. Ukin-zer . . . cast him from the throne and seized the throne. 19. In the 3d year of Ukin-zer, Tiglath-pileser 20. When he made a descent against Akkad 21. Devastated Bit-Amukan and captured Ukinzer. 22. Three years Ukin-zer ruled as king of Babylon. 23. Tiglath-pileser seated himself on the throne in Babylon. 24. The 2d year Tiglath-pileser died in the month of Tebetu.
8. Pulu for 2 [years].	

"Pul and Tiglath-pileser," but if the plural "they" were used it would not agree with the singular Hebrew verb. Thus this verse, instead of conveying a wrong idea concerning Pul and Tiglath-pileser, actually becomes a valuable early documentary authority for the identification of Pul with Tiglath-pileser III.

It is quite clear, then, both from the impartial testimony of the Babylonian documents already cited and from the evidence of I Chron. 5:26, that Pul and Tiglath-pileser are two names for the same individual. Pul evidently is the name assumed by Tiglath-pileser when he took the throne of Babylon, just as Shalmaneser V was known in Babylon as Ululai. Further confirmation is given by Ptolemy's Canon, which for the seventeenth to the twenty-first years of the Nabonassar Era, 731-727, gives Chinziros and Poros as the Babylonian kings. The latter name is a Persian corruption of Pul, and Chinziros is clearly Ukin-zer.

With such positive proof that Pul and Tiglath-pileser are one and the same king, it is clear that Menahem and Tiglath-pileser were contemporaneous and that, either the system of Biblical chronology which gives the date 761 for the termination of Menahem's reign is wrong, or Assyrian chronology is wrong when it provides the date 745 for Tiglath-pileser's accession. But Assyrian dates for the years of Tiglath-pileser's reign are fully established, being verified by the incontestable astronomical evidence of the solar eclipse in the eponymy of Bur-Sagale in 763 and the eclipses establishing the years of Ptolemy's Canon. It will be noticed that the dates we have secured for the reign of Menahem as based upon the chronological data of the books of Kings and Chronicles, 752 to 742/41, provide for an overlap of Menahem's reign with that of Tiglath-pileser III whose years were from 745 to 727.

Of particular importance to our inquiry is a record of Tiglath-pileser in which he mentions a campaign to the Mediterranean sea-coast and to the land of Hatti, to put down an uprising instigated by "Azriau of Yaudi," and during the course of which he claims to have received tribute from "Menihimmu of Samerina."⁵ "Azriau" is of course Azariah of Judah and "Menihimmu" is certainly Menahem of Samaria or Israel. There are some who believe that the "Azriau" referred to by Tiglath-pileser was not the Azariah of the Old Testament,⁶ but a king of another nation in northern Syria. The writer holds with those who believe that the evidence for the identification of the "Azriau" and the "Yaudi" of this Assyrian inscription with the Biblical "Azariah" and "Judah" is entirely convincing.⁷ It is extremely unlikely that at the very time that Judah had such an outstanding king, possessing such marked abilities as a warrior and statesman (II Chron. 26:6-15), another state of a similar name should possess a king with a name that is almost identical and with the same outstanding characteristics.

An interesting problem is introduced by the usually accepted date of 738 for this expedition of Tiglath-pileser and the terminal dates here presented of 742/41 for Menahem and 740/39 for Azariah. A

5. See Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, secs. 770, 772.

6. See A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), p. 186.

7. For a discussion of this side of the question see Schrader, *op. cit.*, I, 208 ff.; Howell M. Haydn, "Azariah of Judah and Tiglath-pileser III." *JBL*, XXVIII (1909), 182-99; and D. D. Luckenbill, "Azariah of Judah," *AJSL*, XLI (1925), 217-32. Cf. also H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (9th ed. rev.; London, 1936), p. 463.

careful study of all the available evidence should give some indication as to whether or not 738 is sound or whether the chronological pattern herein presented is correct in demanding a somewhat earlier date than 738 for Tiglath-pileser's measures against Azariah and Menahem. The historical records of Tiglath-pileser⁸ were mainly engraved upon stone slabs which originally lined the walls of his palace at Calah (Nimrud), but which were later removed by Esarhaddon to be used in his palace in the same city. Here they were found by Layard in his excavations of what he termed "the Southwest Palace of Nimrod." Layard gives a vivid description of the mutilated and disordered condition in which these slabs were found,⁹ some sawn in two with only a portion of the original slab remaining, many with the original carvings completely chiseled away to be replaced by new inscriptions, and yet others that had been exposed to fire with the stone nearly reduced to lime and too cracked and fragile to permit removal. A number of slabs were still in the center of the room, piled upon each other and ready to take their place in the new palace under construction.

In addition to the stone slabs once lining Tiglath-pileser's palace walls, a number of clay tablets containing important historical information are also available. Some of these, although fragmentary, contain material of great historical value.

With so many of the materials constituting Tiglath-pileser's annals being in such a ruinous and disordered state, it will be recognized that the correct rearrangement of the remaining fragments to their original order constitutes an exceedingly difficult task. Thanks to the Assyrian custom of producing duplicate records at different times and in various forms, much more can be done in the way of restoration than at first might seem possible. The piecing together of pictures accompanying the inscriptions is of great assistance in securing the correct order of sequence. The Eponym Chronicle has been of invaluable service to scholars in their endeavor to fit properly together facts gleaned from other sources. But in spite of the splendid work that has already been done, it is admitted by careful historians that future study may indicate the necessity of making some modifications in results already achieved.¹⁰ As things now stand it should be borne in mind that all present reconstructions of this period, in spite of the

8. For a good discussion of these see Abraham S. Anspacher, *Tiglath Pileser III* (New York, 1912), pp. 1-9.

9. Austen Henry Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (New York, 1850), II, 26 ff.

10. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 269.

masterly work already performed, are still tentative and provisional rather than settled and conclusive, and that the final restoration of this period is still a task of the future.

It should be noticed that the section of the palace annals dealing with Menahem's payment of tribute immediately precedes a section denoting the events of Tiglath-pileser's ninth year,¹¹ 737. It is therefore presumed that the immediately preceding section of the annals must deal with the immediately preceding year, and that 738 must thus be the year of Menahem's payment of tribute. Secondly, in the section dealing with Azariah of Judah, in the midst of a list of places taken by Tiglath-pileser in this campaign, are the badly-damaged signs of the name of a site which has generally been restored as "Kullani."¹² And inasmuch as the eponym list with notes gives for the eponymy of Adad-bela-ukin, 738 B.C., the capture of Kullani, it is taken for granted that this is additional evidence for 738. Yet a third point in favor of 738 is that in this same section dealing with Azariah mention is made of the settlement of a number of captives in the land of Ulluba, and this would be a logical procedure for that year inasmuch as the campaign for the previous year, 739, in the eponymy of Sin-taklak, was against Ulluba.

At first sight such evidence might appear to be conclusive in favor of 738. But let us examine these items a bit more closely. Simply because the section of the annals dealing with Menahem's payment of tribute immediately precedes the section of the annals dealing with Tiglath-pileser's ninth year, 737, does it necessarily follow that that section must deal with Tiglath-pileser's eighth year? Such an argument would rest upon the assumption that the records from Calah are complete, dealing consecutively with each year of Tiglath-pileser's reign. That, however, is a mere assumption of which we have no proof. A complete record of events by unbroken, consecutive years is by no means the invariable rule for Assyrian records. The task of the Assyriologist would be easy indeed if there were such complete records of yearly events in the reigns of all the kings. The Eponym Chronicle with notes does indeed supply such a record, the famous Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III is of this nature, and so also are the annals of Sargon II engraved on the wall slabs of his palace at Dur-Sharrukin, but there are also notable exceptions. The final edition of the annals of Assur-nasir-pal II are found on the pavement slabs of the entrance to the temple of Urta at Calah.¹³ Here the events for the

11. *Ibid.*, secs. 772, 773.

12. *Ibid.*, sec. 770.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-69.

first six years are dated in terms of the limmu officials, then follow three campaigns undated by years but with the months strangely retained, followed by another campaign in the eponymy of Shamash-nuri, Assur-nasir-pal's eighteenth year, 866. But who would dare to conclude that, because his campaign to the land of Kipani took place in his eighteenth year, 866, the campaign to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea mentioned in the section immediately preceding must have taken place in his seventeenth year, 867, or that his campaign against the lands of Suhi and Lake must have taken place in his seventh year, 877, simply because that record immediately follows the account of his campaign against Karduniash in his sixth year, 878? If such reasoning were sound then it would be true that his undated campaign against Bit-Adini must have taken place in his eighth year, 876, simply because this account immediately follows the record of the campaigns against Suhi and Lake, and it must also have taken place in his sixteenth year, 868, simply because this same account immediately precedes the record of his campaign against Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea. Obviously position alone means little as to the precise dating of these three campaigns on this important Assyrian document in which the campaigns of seven out of eighteen years are definitely dated but the rest are not.

Another example of an incomplete Assyrian inscription is the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser III. This record covers in detail the first four and the sixth years of Shalmaneser's reign, but the record of the fifth year is strangely missing.¹⁴

Still another example is the gate inscription of Shalmaneser III at Balawat, on which are found a few selected events of the first four years of Shalmaneser's reign, after which the events of the fifth, sixth, and seventh years are missing, with the record resumed for the eighth and ninth years.¹⁵

Yet another example is that of the bull-colossi of Shalmaneser III from Calah, where the record mentions the fourth to the fifteenth years inclusive with their outstanding events, skips the sixteenth and seventeenth years, and goes on again with the eighteenth year.¹⁶

The records of Sennacherib might also be noted, where events are reported not in terms of years of reign but according to campaigns, of which there were eight during a reign of twenty-four years.

Whether in the case of Tiglath-pileser III the events of his reign were recorded on the walls of the palace at Calah in a complete and

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 211-23.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-32.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-41.

unbroken sequence of years, whether there was merely a partial presentation, or whether events were recorded according to the sequence of campaigns, must be determined by a careful study of the records themselves. What is the evidence?

The annals open with a setting forth of what is clearly—though the statement to that effect has not been preserved—an account of Tiglath-pileser's first year, the record of his Babylonian campaign. Then follows the record of his second year, his campaign against the lands of Namri, Bit-Sangi, and other countries of the northeast. Next comes the great campaign of the third year against Sardurri of Urartu and other restless and powerful peoples in the northwest. It is in the course of this campaign that the names of Azariah and Menahem are introduced. Immediately following the section dealing with Menahem comes a section dealing with the ninth year when the focus of attention had swept back to the northeast. The next year, the tenth year, is again not expressly mentioned on the records as they now exist, but from that year to the fourteenth we know from the Eponym Chronicle that the campaign was again in the northwest and west, and these are the places that are mentioned in this part of the annals.

In view of the fact that certain sections of the annals are introduced by the mention of specific years, such as the second, the third, and the ninth, the assumption has been that this was originally the case throughout the record. But again it should be pointed out that of this we have no proof. It is true that the annals as they exist today are in a fragmentary state and that in their original form there may have been a more complete mention of events than we find on these records in their present form. But it should be noticed that those sections of the annals in which we do find a specific mention of years are sections introducing campaigns in certain geographical localities. Thus, the second year, 744, deals with the campaign in the northeast; the third year, 743, is the year which opened the great campaign in the regions of the northwest, a campaign which continued six years, till in the ninth year, 737, the center of action swept back again to the northeast. And that ninth year is again specifically mentioned. The question of interest and importance is whether, outside of the reference to the third year introducing this section, there ever was any mention of specific years during the course of this great campaign from 743 to 738 inclusive, or whether this whole period was dealt with as a single unit without having been broken up into individual years. If the latter were the case, it would have a very definite bearing upon the accuracy of certain dates which have up to the present been regarded as

settled. Thus, the Azariah-Menahem section has been assigned the date 738 because it immediately precedes the section dated in the ninth year, 737. But if this section is a unit not broken up into individual years, it could just as readily be assigned the date 742 or even 743, as immediately following or even being a part of the section dealing with the events of 743. Until we are in possession of further evidence concerning the exact nature of Tiglath-pileser's annals—whether these consisted of annual records in an unbroken sequence of years or whether they were divided into certain larger sections dealing with the campaigns as they took place in certain broad geographical areas—we are in no position to say with finality whether the generally-accepted date 738 is or is not correct. The full evidence will first need to be considered before we can know the answer to this question.

In regard to the assumed mention of "Kullani" as it has been restored in the section dealing with Azariah, it must be remembered that this restoration may or may not be correct, and that any argument based upon such a restoration is sound only to the extent that the restoration itself is certain.

It should be noticed, moreover, that even if the restoration of "Kullani" were correct, it would not of itself prove the correctness of the date 738, for a campaign against Kullani that year would not preclude a campaign against that city some years previous, for the Assyrian inscriptions are replete with records of repeated campaigns against certain sites at surprisingly frequent intervals. A brief glimpse at the Eponym Chronicle (p. 84) reveals a frequent repetition of the names of a number of sites as centers of attack by Assyrian arms year after year. The Eponym Chronicle could record only a few of the sites against which the Assyrian armies directed their numerous and repeated assaults. Naturally there would be many other places which repeatedly became the target of Assyrian attacks, and so Kullani might have been attacked not only in 738 but in many another year.

The mention of Ulluba is important, but it must be remembered that that name appears a number of times in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III,¹⁷ the dates of which are by no means finally settled, and that as early as 829, in the eponymy of Nergal-ilia, the campaign of the year was against Ulluba.¹⁸

A careful consideration of the various points which in the past

17. *Ibid.*, secs. 770, 785, 796, 814; Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-Pilessers III* (Leipzig, 1893), pp. 23, 47, 53, 67.

18. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. Erich Ebeling and Bruno Meissner, II (1938), 433.

have been regarded as positive proof for the accuracy of the date 738 will thus be seen not to constitute evidence which is altogether final and conclusive. We have as yet presented no evidence disproving 738 but we have shown that, without further corroborative evidence, the date 738 rests upon a basis far from secure. A careful study of all the available evidence might be expected to throw further light upon this question. Let us examine the record.

Hamanu	Bit-Adini	Hatti	Baby-lonia	Tabali	Ulluba	Damas-cus	Namri	Urartu
858	857	853	851	837	830	841	843	832
842	856	848	850	720	739	773	835	781
	855	845	811			733	797	780
						732	774	779
						727	749	778
							748	776
							744	774
								743
								735
								Hubush-
Madai	Arpad	Itu	Mannai	Karne	Tille	Guzana	Musasir	kia
821	805	790	829	819	817	808	716	801
809	754	783	806	818	816	759	713	791
800	743	782	718			758		784
799	742	777						
793	741	769						
792	740							
789								
788								
786								
766								
737								
Kuc	Der	Hatarika	Arrapha	Dur Iakin	Gananati			
840	795	772	761	706	771			
834	794	765	760	705	767			
833		755						

Any internal evidence which might link the Azariah-Menahem section of the annals with material which precedes or which follows may be of vital importance in determining the dating of this section. A careful examination of the annals reveals the fact that there exists a much closer connection of that portion of the annals mentioning Azariah and Menahem with the preceding material than there is with that which follows. The section dealing with Azariah begins with the following words: "[In] the course of my campaign, I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast . . . [Azariah] of Judah, like. . ."¹⁹

19. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770.

The annalist is here dealing with some definite campaign of Tiglath-pileser. Which campaign? Naturally that campaign which he has just been describing, the campaign of his third year, 743, against Sardurri of Urartu and his sympathizers of the west. From 743 to 738 inclusive, as the notes from the Eponym Chronicle reveal, Tiglath-pileser was engaged in a tremendous undertaking to bring under control the restless and powerful groups of peoples in the north and west. In 743 he was in Arpad in northern Syria while a massacre took place in Urartu of Armenia. Urartu was now at the height of its power. Sardurri (Sarduish) controlled all the regions of Armenia up toward the Caucasus and had taken to himself the title of "King of Kings," and "King of Shuraush." If Syria was to come under Assyrian rather than Haldian power and if Tiglath-pileser was to be master of the regions from Babylonia to the Mediterranean coast, then Sardurri must be vanquished and these nations of the west must be taught the might of Assyrian arms. The undertaking was not easy and was to keep the Assyrian forces engaged in an unbroken struggle in this region for six years, to be later renewed after a brief respite. In 743 Tiglath-pileser claimed the defeat of Sardurri and the receipt of tribute from Pisiris of Carchemish and Hiram of Tyre.²⁰ The next year, 742, the campaign of the year was against Arpad, evidently now the center of resistance, for thus it was again in 741 and once more in 740. In 739 the Eponym Chronicle cites Ulluba on the Armenian frontier as the center of hostilities, while for 738 it was Kullani, the Calneh of the Old Testament (Amos 6:2; Isaiah 10:9).

None of the records now available except the Eponym Chronicle breaks up this period into units of individual years. A careful study of the internal evidence points to the fact that the entire period from Tiglath-pileser's third to his eighth years, including the revolts and campaigns involving Sardurri of Urartu and Tutummu of Unki, as well as Azariah of Judah and Menahem of Israel, is dealt with as a single unit—this whole general area being the primary scene of Assyrian activity for a campaign of six years duration, till the king's ninth year when a new annalistic unit is introduced as the focus of action shifted to the northeast. In other words, the course of the campaign under which Azariah is introduced into the record is part of this long-continued, widespread struggle involving such a multitudinous array of names of men and states in the regions of the north and west which Tiglath-pileser endeavored to bring under Assyrian control between 743 and 738.

20. *Ibid.*, sec. 769.

In the section of the annals in which Azariah is introduced is found a long list of cities in the land of Hamath which at that time were brought within the power of Assyria.²¹ This list is clearly parallel to a similar list of cities found on a twenty-four line inscription which contains the names of cities in the lands of Enzi, Urartu, Unki, and Hamath.²² The following cities of Hamath and the sea-coast are found on both lists: Usnu, Siannu, Simirra, Hatarikka, Nukudina, Ara, Ashhani, Iadabi, Ellitarbi, and Zitanu. In the annals these are mentioned as cities which had gone over in revolt to Azariah but which had been brought back under Assyrian domination and placed under tribute. The purpose of the parallel list is not stated, but it probably constitutes a list of cities paying tribute to Assyria. There is no question concerning the parallelism of the two lists. Both no doubt constitute a group of cities under Assyrian domination at the same time, and at the same period paying tribute to Tiglath-pileser. The date for the one list would no doubt be the date of the other and would help to establish the dates of other events appearing in the same connection. In the annals a list is given of such leaders of the west as Kushtashpi of Kummuhu, Hiram of Tyre, and Pisiris of Carchemish, who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser "in Arpad."²³ Heading a list of cities on the parallel list is the city of Arpad.²⁴ Here we have, then, a time when Tiglath-pileser was in the city of Arpad. According to the Eponym Chronicle, 743 was such a year, for in that year the king was "in" Arpad, whereas during the next three years the campaign was "against" Arpad.

Also of interest to our inquiry is the fact that shortly before the group of cities in the land of Hamath appearing on the parallel list III R, 10, No. 3, occurs the name of the city of Kulmadara, and shortly before the same group of cities in the annals' list occurs a single "Kul" sign which Rost has restored to "Kullani," a restoration which it will be recalled has been widely used as evidence that this particular section of the annals should be dated to 738. But if Kulmadara is the name appearing on the one list before the group of Hamath cities, then is not this the name that should in all probability appear on the other list before the same group of cities? And thus is not "Kullani" in this place an erroneous restoration, and should not

21. *Ibid.*, sec. 770.

22. III R, 10, No. 3; cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 821; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85.

23. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

24. *Ibid.*, sec. 821.

the single "Kul" sign rather have been restored as "Kulmadara"?²⁵

An examination of the order of sequence between the items in the annals and list III R, 10, No. 3, will be of interest. This is as follows:²⁶

ANNALS	LIST OF CITIES, III R, 10, No. 3
Urartu subjugated	Cities of the lands of Enzi and Urartu
City of Kukusanshu	Kukusanshu
City of Izzida	Izzida
Receipt of tribute in Arpad	Cities of Bit-Adini
	Arpadda
Unki subjugated	Cities of the land of Unki
Tribute from kings of the seacoast who had gone over to Azariah	
Kul[lani] or Kul[madara]?	Kulmadara
Hamath and environs subjugated	Cities of the land of Hamath
Usnu	Hatarikka
Siannu	Simirra
Simirra	Usnu
Hatarikka	Sianu
Nukudina	Ara
Ara	Nukudina
Ashhani	Ashani
Iadabi	Iadabi
Ellitarbi	Ellitarbi
Zitanu	Zitanu

Only the relevant items from the two documents have been listed. The general parallelism in arrangement is striking. Except for the introduction of the item concerning Azariah and his allies there would be no question concerning the restoration of the "Kul" sign—it would be Kulmadara. On the list of cities there are no comments, only the names of cities are given and the countries in which they

25. It should be noted that in the annals a single sign for "Kul" appears, but on III R, 10, No. 3, two signs are employed, "Ku-ul," which Rost in his transliteration has mistakenly given as "Kul" instead of "Ku-ul" and that in this mistake he has been followed by many writers (cf. Rost, *op. cit.*, I, 85, and *ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. XXVII). Such a variation could not be urged as a valid objection, however, to the identification of the site intended by the "Kul" sign in the annals with the Kulmadara on the parallel list, for the variant "Ku-ul" for "Kul" would be altogether possible, such variations being a common practice in Assyrian inscriptions, here as well as elsewhere. Still another objection that might be raised is that the spacing on Rost's autographic copy of Layard, between the "Kul" sign and the final "lu" of [Gu-ub]-lu, the following word—a space now a blank—would seem to favor the restoration of five signs rather than the six that would be necessary if "Kulmadara" rather than "Kullani" were to be restored. A careful comparison of Rost's spacing with the spacing of inscriptions still extant shows frequent variations from the original in this regard, and there is thus no certainty that these six signs might not be inserted in the necessary space of the original inscription, if that were now available.

26. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 769, 770, 820, 821.

are located. Kulmadara appears as one of the cities in the land of Unki. Unki is located on the Mediterranean coast, at the extreme north of Syria. Somewhere within that area is the site of Kulmadara. At the southern environs of Unki is Calneh or Kullani. Which city did the Assyrian annalist have in mind when in connection with the discussion of rulers of the westland who had gone over to Azariah, the name of the city Kul... is introduced, Kullani or Kulmadara? In the annals this item appears just before the list of cities on the sea-coast and in the environs of Hamath. On list III R, 10, No. 3, Kulmadara appears in the Unki group in the section immediately preceding the same list of cities in the land of Hamath. That position would favor the restoration of "Kulmadara." But Kulmadara is in Unki and the annalist has given his discussion of the conquest of Unki just before his introduction of the item concerning Azariah and the districts that had gone over to him. The question is whether he now came back again to a city in the land of Unki, Kulmadara, or whether, being all through with the matter of Unki, he is introducing a city slightly to the south, Kullani. As far as geographical location is concerned, it could be either. Kullani is mentioned nowhere else in the Assyrian records except in the Eponym Chronicle, where it appears as the site captured in the campaign of the year 738, in the eponymy of Adad-bel-ukin. Kulmadara appears once more in the annals, in the Menahem section, as one of the cities of Unki where Babylonian captives were placed.²⁷ There is no question concerning Kulmadara as having been the target of Assyrian attack in 743, when Unki was conquered. Did Kullani also figure prominently at that time in the Assyrian campaign? That is not only possible but probable, for it was in the locale of action in that important year. And if the "Kul" sign in the Azariah section stands for Kullani, we would have evidence that Kullani figured in the Assyrian campaign not only of 738 but also of 743. So whether the restoration is Kulmadara or Kullani would have no bearing upon the settlement of the date in question. Although, with the evidence at hand the question cannot now be decided with absolute certainty as to which is the correct restoration, I believe the weight of evidence points to Kulmadara rather than to Kullani, as being more fully in line with the known order of names on two clearly parallel Assyrian documents.

Tiglath-pileser claims to have inflicted a devastating defeat upon Judah's allies in the northwest, and the statement is made that captives from the campaign in which Azariah is mentioned were settled

27. *Ibid.*, sec. 772.

in Ulluba.²⁸ While it is true that the eponym canon records for the year 739 a campaign against Ulluba, it is also true and possibly significant that the important Nimrud Tablet No. 1 records the capture of Ulluba and Kirhu in the lines immediately preceding those recording the revolt of Sardurri,²⁹ which took place in Tiglath-pileser's third year, 743.³⁰ On Nimrud Slab No. 1 which is probably the earliest inscription extant from Tiglath-pileser and which Olmstead dates to the year 743,³¹ the conquest of Ulluba is once more dealt with in the same section relating the revolt of Sardurri.³² If this inscription is correctly dated to the year 743 it will thus fix this victory over Ulluba to that year. On yet another document, Nimrud Slab No. 2, the conquest of Ulluba is again closely associated with the conquest of Sardurri.³³ It is obvious that all the events having to do with the conquest of Urartu, Ulluba, Kirhu, and Mount Nal do not belong to a simple campaign of a single year. But it is also certain that the exact sequence of these events has not been revealed, that any modern detailed reconstructions are largely arbitrary and tentative, and that further evidence not now available must be awaited before a full picture can be drawn which may be regarded as final and beyond dispute.

It should be noticed that while there is no evidence that would exclude Ulluba from the great campaign against Sardurri in Tiglath-pileser's third year, there is evidence in each of the above-mentioned inscriptions wherein Ulluba is named, indicating that that land in all probability occupied a part in the campaign of 743. First of all, the annals in opening the account of the third year report the revolt of Sardurri and his allies and their crushing defeat, with 72,950 captives taken.³⁴ And it is the very next section opening with the words "in the course of my campaign"—evidently continuing the account of the same campaign—which mentions the settling in Ulluba of 1,223 captives taken from among Azariah's allies.³⁵

28. *Ibid.*, sec. 770; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 133.

29. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 796, 797; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 66, ll. 43 ff.

30. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 59.

31. A. T. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* (Columbia, Mo., 1916), p. 34.

32. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 25.

33. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 813, 814; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 53, l. 41.

34. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 12, l. 66.

35. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 22, l. 133.

The point is often stressed that events on inscriptional material of the so-called "Prunkinschriften" group are arranged not in chronological but in geographical order,³⁶ and on these grounds the effort may be made to rule out any chronological significance of the mention of Ulluba in connection with Sardurri's revolt on the other inscriptions mentioned. But a careful comparison of these inscriptions with the eponym lists and the annals reveals striking parallels in arrangement on all these accounts. Using the numbers of the sections as they are given by Luckenbill, the arrangement is as follows:

Year B.C.	Eponym List	Annals	Nimrud Tablet No. 1	Nimrud Slab No. 1	Nimrud Slab No. 2					
		Sec. No.	Sec. No.	Sec. No.	Sec. No.					
<i>To Babylonia:</i>										
745	1st year	Between the rivers	762	Chaldea	788	Babylon	782	Til-kamri	809	Uknu
			763	Til-kamri	789	Chaldea	783	Chaldea	810	Babylon
			764	Sippar	790	Tarbau			811	Chaldea
			765	Babylonia	791	Amlilatu				
					792	Sapie				
					793	Larak				
					794	Sealand				
<i>To the Northeast:</i>										
744	2d year	Against Namri	766	Namri	795	Namri	784	Parsua	812	Medes
			767	Kapei						
			768	Arazi						
<i>To the Northwest and West:</i>										
743	3d year	In Arpad	769	Urartu	796	Ulluba	785	Urartu	813	Urartu
		Urartu revolt	770	Seacoast	797	Urartu			814	Ulluba
			771	Syria	Break in tablet; about 100 lines missing					
			772	Unki						
742	4th year	Against Arpad								
741	5th year	Against Arpad								
740	6th year	Against Arpad								
739	7th year	Against Ulluba								
738	8th year	Kullani captured								
<i>To the Northeast:</i>										
737	9th year	Against Madai	773	Madai						
			774	Kapei						
			775a	Til-Ashuri						
<i>To the Northwest and West:</i>										
736	10th year	To Mount Nal	775b	Na'iri						
735	11th year	Against Urartu	776	Musurni						
734	12th year	Against Pilieta	777	Aram	798	Bir'ai				
733	13th year	Against Damascus	778	Arabia	799	Temai				
732	14th year	Against Damascus	779	Ashkelon	800	Egyptian Frontier				
					801	Hamath				
						Iauhazi (Ahaz) of Judah				
<i>To Babylonia:</i>										
731	15th year	Against Sapia								
<i>King in Assyria:</i>										
730	16th year	In the land			802	Rab-shaku to Tabal				
					803	Rab-shaku to Tyre				
					804	Palace built in Calah				

With such a pattern before us it would be difficult to argue that, though the eponym lists and annals are arranged in chronological order, the Nimrud tablet and slabs are not, for the basic order is the

36. Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 1; Anspacher, *op. cit.*, p. 3; Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, pp. 33-34; Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1925), II, 371.

same. If one group of these documents may be considered to be chronological in nature, that is also true of the other. And if it is true that the documents of the Prunkinschriften group are primarily geographic in nature, then this also holds true of the annals, for they are arranged alike. In fact we may have here the real secret of the arrangement not only of Tiglath-pileser's annals but of the other documents as well, and that is chronological-geographic for all rather than strictly chronological for some and strictly geographic for others. In other words, events were not arranged on the basis of a strict sequence of years but according to a sequence of activities in certain geographical areas, or campaigns. Thus when Azariah and Menahem were introduced into the record, they were not introduced in that section dealing with Tiglath-pileser's first campaign which took place in Babylonia in his first year, nor in the section dealing with his second campaign which took place in the northeast in his second year, but in that section of the annals dealing with his third campaign which took place in the regions of the northwest and was carried on from his third to his eighth years of reign.

Olmstead and others no doubt perceived the general principles of this basic chronological-geographic arrangement, but assigned the annals to a chronological classification because of the occasional mention therein of certain specific years of the king as beginning certain major campaigns, and assigned other documents to a geographic classification because of the very obvious arrangement by major campaigns. But what Olmstead did not see, when in discussing the Nimrud tablet he refers to the Tabal and Tyre paragraphs as being "out of the regular geographical order," and being "obvious postscripts,"³⁷ was that we have evidence here of the chronological as well as the geographical arrangement of this tablet, for the Tabal and Tyre activities, together with those involving Iauhazi (Ahaz) of Judah and Hanunu of Gaza belong, without question, at the very place on this tablet where they appear, and that is at the close, for these are events which took place toward the close of Tiglath-pileser's reign. If the order of the tablet had been strictly geographical rather than chronological, these items would of course have appeared in an earlier section where items of an earlier campaign in the west first appear, but this was a new and a later campaign, and as such these items appear toward the end of the tablet, not as "obvious postscripts" but as intrinsic factors of a late campaign. Ahaz is referred to at this time as paying tribute of gold to Tiglath-pileser because he

37. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, p. 34.

was king in 732, which was not the case at the time of the previous campaign in the north and west from 743 to 738.

It is particularly unfortunate that there should be such a large break of approximately a hundred lines in the Nimrud tablet and that this break should come just where it does, for the missing sections, as Olmstead has suggested,³⁸ must have contained most of the Urartu account and an account of the events in Syria during the campaign against Arpad. This document, in the portion still extant, gives a particularly full account of the events of Tiglath-pileser's campaign in Babylonia during his second year, and the probability is that the portion now missing dealt with the events of the important campaign in the northwest with equal fullness. If only this section of the tablet were complete, we would no doubt have light on many of the questions with which we are here particularly concerned. But enough of the tablet remains to indicate that its essential arrangement, as well as that of the Nimrud slabs, is chronological, if not by individual years at least by major campaigns.³⁹

To the extent that these campaigns were geographical in nature, confining the major efforts of Assyrian arms to certain areas for certain longer or shorter periods of time, to that extent it might indeed be said that not only the records of the Prunkinschriften group but the so-called annals as well were arranged in geographical rather than chronological order.

Although the order of sequence was adhered to in the presentation of the accounts of the major campaigns themselves, and al-

38. *Ibid.*

39. The fact that the eponym list mentions a campaign against Sapia for 731 and that the Babylonian Chronicle mentions a march by Tiglath-pileser against Akkad in the third year of Ukinzer (I:19-21), 729 B.C., may be raised as an argument against a campaign by Tiglath-pileser in his first year against Sapia, as would be indicated by the mention of Sapia in the first part of the Nimrud tablet, if the arrangement of this tablet were on a strictly chronological basis. While the possibility exists that Tiglath-pileser may have made some move against Amukani as early as the first year of his reign, it could also very well be that the above item has been removed from its correct chronological setting. But this would not vitiate the tablet's essential chronological arrangement, although it would lend some force to the argument that other items might also have been removed from their exact chronological setting. Every Assyriologist, however, is aware of the weaknesses inherent in the royal documents of Assyria, including chronological items in the royal annals (cf. A. T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria, 722-705 B.C.* [New York, 1908], pp. 2 ff., and *Assyrian Historiography*; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 7). The above tabulation, however, is sufficient proof of the basic chronological arrangement of the items on Nimrud Tablet No. 1 and bears witness to its validity as evidence concerning Ulluba's part in Tiglath-pileser's great northwestern campaign in his third year.

though at times a striking parallelism is found in the sequence followed in the presentation of individual events as they appear on various records of the campaigns, the same order of sequence is not invariable in the case of these individual events. An item which on one account precedes some other item may follow it on another. The arrangement of individual items as recorded for a single campaign will, therefore, not always be strictly according to a chronological sequence. That it is dangerous to be dogmatic concerning the exact order in which events must have happened simply on the basis of the place where they are recorded in the annals is indicated by the fact that according to the Eponym Chronicle the campaign against Philistia appears as the event of the year in Tiglath-pileser's twelfth year of reign, while the campaign against Damascus was the event of the thirteenth and fourteenth years, but in the annals the campaign against Rezin of Aram precedes the mention of the campaign against Ashkelon in Philistia. Thus the particular place where an item is mentioned in the annals does not necessarily indicate its exact chronological relationship to some other item, and simply because one event is found recorded immediately preceding or following some other event does not always prove that that is exactly the order in which these events took place. In order to ascertain the exact relationship of one particular item to some other item it will be necessary to make a careful study of all the available evidence. Let us notice a number of items concerning Tiglath-pileser's great campaign against the Northwest.

That Tiglath-pileser's campaign of his third year against Urartu did indeed cover a large extent of that country can be learned from the names of three cities—Kukusanshu, Harbisina, and Izzeda—evidently conquered by him, which are found in a section of the annals placed by Rost and followed by Luckenbill, immediately after the section giving a description of Sardurri's flight and the capture of his camp.⁴⁰ Both Izzeda and Kukusanshu are included in the list of cities (III R, 10, No. 3) of the lands of Enzi and Urartu.⁴¹ An idea of the location of these cities may be gained from the inclusion among them of the city of Parisu, a site which on Nimrud Slab No. 1 is listed as one of the strongholds of Urartu, back of Mount Nal, in the land of Ulluba.⁴² Harbisina is included among the strongholds of Urartu

40. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769; Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff., ll. 77 ff.

41. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 820; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 84, ll. 1, 17.

42. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 26.

listed on Nimrud Slab No. 1 as captured by Tiglath-pileser.⁴³ This particular group of strongholds immediately follows the mention of Ulluba.

If Ulluba figured in the early part of Tiglath-pileser's campaign against the Northwest beginning in 743, and if captives from the campaign in which Azariah is mentioned were settled in Ulluba, this could well point to an early dating of the campaign against Azariah and his allies among the events of the six-year campaign of 743-738.

In brief, a careful survey of the section of the annals dealing with Azariah makes it clear that this section demands a time when the king was present in the west, when his campaign was thought of as an integral part of the campaign of his third year against Urartu, and when Arpad was under Assyrian power. The year 743 meets all these requirements.

That the section of the annals dealing with the payment of tribute from Menahem dates from the same year as the section dealing with Azariah is generally acknowledged.⁴⁴ That these two sections were very closely associated in Tiglath-pileser's annals and that the Menahem section immediately followed the Azariah section is proved by the fact that the last line of a fragment of one version of the annals which was written across a group of figures, plate XXI in Rost, is the first line of a column of the twelve-line version, plate XV in Rost. This is line 141 of the annals as arranged by Rost. The Azariah-Ulluba campaign is the topic of lines 105-133, and the Menahem-Kulmadara campaign is the subject of lines 144-150. Yet another indication of the close connection between the Azariah and Menahem sections is found on a fragmentary annals text, III R, 10, No. 2, which in a section mentioning Menahem and the land of Israel, lists such sites as Hatarikka, Mount Saua, Sinirra, Usnu, and Sianu,⁴⁵ which are also listed in the Azariah section.⁴⁶ It will be remembered that most of these places are also found on a list of cities, III R, 10, No. 3. In addition to the above sites, a number of additional cities such as Gubla, Ri'a-raba, and Ri'a-sisu which are not now found in the Azariah section in its fragmentary form are common to both III R, 10, No. 2 and III R, 10, No. 3. We have noticed that the Azariah section of the annals was parallel to the list of cities III R, 10, No. 3,

43. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 785; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 46, l. 28.

44. Sidney Smith, *Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, 1929), III, 37; Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-64.

45. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 815.

46. *Ibid.*, sec. 770.

and we have now noticed the parallelism between a section of III R, 10, No. 2 and both the Menahem section of the annals and list III R, 10, No. 3,⁴⁷ so we have evidence of the close connection of these three sections with each other. If the indications are that the Azariah section of the annals should be dated to the year 743, then, if the Menahem section actually constitutes an integral part of the Azariah section, that section too should be dated to the year 743, and if our deductions thus far are sound, we should expect a careful examination of the Menahem section likewise to reveal indications of its dating to the neighborhood of the year 743 rather than 738. What is the evidence?

Of great assistance in dating the Menahem section are lists of places from which and to which captives were transported at the time of the Assyrian campaigns. Captives were usually transported on the occasion of a conquest or very soon thereafter. At the time of the suppression of the uprising of the western allies, Usnu, Siannu, and Simirra are listed among the cities subdued.⁴⁸ We have just seen that there are definite indications that this was the year 743. The same three cities are included in a group of cities on the seacoast,⁴⁹ in which captives were settled at the time of the reception of tribute from Menahem.⁵⁰ Among the captives transported were 600 from Amlate of the Damunu area, 5,400 from the city of Dir,⁵¹ and 588 Budeans, Duneans, and others.⁵² Tiglath-pileser's campaign into Babylonia, where these sites were located, took place in his first year, 745, at which time Budu was one of the lands overcome.⁵³ Three times captives are mentioned from Bit-Sangibuti.⁵⁴ Tiglath-pileser's march to the northeast where Bit-Sangibuti was located took place in his second year, in the eponymy of Bel-dan, 744, when the campaign of the year was against the land of Namri.⁵⁵ Namri also was

47. For those who may be using Luckenbill, attention should be called to the fact that the list of cities, III R, 10, No. 3, is mistakenly given by him as III R, 10, No. 2 (see Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, 294; cf. also p. 292).

48. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 770.

49. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

50. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

51. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

52. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, l. 146; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

53. Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 4, l. 14; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 764.

54. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, ll. 145, 148, 149; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

55. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 766; Vol. II, p. 436.

located in northeastern Mesopotamia. On Nimrud Tablet No. 1 is a section clearly dealing with the campaign of this second year to the northeast.⁵⁶ The land of Namri heads this list and Bit-Sangibuti comes next. Many names on this list, such as Bit-Hamban, Sumurzu, Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Bit Kapsi, Bit Sangi, Ariarma, and Tarlugale, are common to a list of places mentioned in the annals as subdued by Tiglath-pileser in his campaign against the northeast in his second year.⁵⁷ With Bit-Sangibuti coming into Assyrian hands in Tiglath-pileser's second year, 744, a logical time for the transfer of these captives to cities of the west would be the following year. And the section of the annals dealing with Menahem, as we have just seen, three times mentions these Bit-Sangibuteans being transported to the cities of the northwest. When would this be, in 743 or in 738? Having conquered Bit-Sangibuti in 744 would he wait six years, till 738, before he transferred these captives to another land? That would be extremely unlikely. We have seen on other grounds that the probable dating of the Azariah section is 743 and not 738, and now we find still further evidence pointing to 743 rather than 738 for the dating of the section dealing with Menahem.

It should be noticed, moreover, that on the badly damaged Nimrud Tablet the section dealing with the conquest of Namri and Bit-Sangibuti immediately precedes the section dealing with the campaigns against Ulluba, Kirhu, and Urartu.⁵⁸ That is just where this important tablet breaks off and one hundred lines are missing. One can only wonder what items of interest and importance that missing section contained. Perhaps if this tablet, so full in its accounts in the sections which are still intact, had been preserved in its entirety, we would have a sufficient account of just what took place in connection with Azariah and Menahem to answer the questions that are so troublesome today.

Still more to the point is a list of cities found in the Menahem section of the annals, in which transported captives were settled. Among these is a group of cities in the land of Unki—Kunalia, Huzarra, Tae, Tarmanazi, Kulmadara, Hatatirra, and Sagillu.⁵⁹ The capture of Kunalia, capital of the land of Unki, and the subjugation of that

56. Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 62, l. 29; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 795.

57. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-13; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 766-68.

58. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, secs. 795-97.

59. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25, ll. 144-45; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

country took place in the third year of Tiglath-pileser.⁶⁰ Mention has already been made above of a list of cities of the west and northwest (III R, 10, No. 3), which on other grounds has been dated to the third year. One group of these cities—in all probability cities which were paying tribute to the Assyrian king—is from the land of Unki.⁶¹ With Unki brought into subjection in the third year of Tiglath-pileser, it would again be a logical procedure to transport captives there either that year or very soon thereafter.

Yet again, among those listed with Menahem as paying tribute to Assyria are the following: Kushtashpi of Kummuh, Rasunnu of Damascus, Hirummu of Tyre, Urikki of Kue, Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarhulara of Gurgum, and Sulumal of Melid.⁶² All these are likewise listed by Tiglath-pileser as having been subdued and paying tribute on the occasion of his campaign against Urartu in his third year.⁶³ It will be remembered that the reception of tribute from this group of worthies was “in Arpad,”⁶⁴ and that the time when, according to the eponym canon, Tiglath-pileser was “in Arpad” was 743.

Inasmuch, then, as the places from which captives were transported at the time of Menahem's payment of tribute to Tiglath-pileser were places captured immediately prior to his third year, inasmuch as the places in which these captives were settled were places that were taken in the great campaign of the third year, and inasmuch as the august group of tribute-payers of that year were the same group that paid tribute “in Arpad” in Tiglath-pileser's third year, it seems only logical to conclude that this section of the annals dealing with Menahem's payment of tribute must be closely related to the third year. And, while there are such definite connections of this section with the third year, the internal evidence shows no such connection with the material of the ninth year, which immediately follows the Menahem section in the Assyrian annals.

It was previously noted that there are indications that the Azariah section of the annals is very closely related to the events of Tiglath-pileser's third year, and that the Azariah-Menahem sections of the

60. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, ll. 92 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

61. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 821; Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

62. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27, ll. 150 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 772.

63. Rost, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13, ll. 61 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

64. Rost, *op. cit.*, p. 16, l. 91; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, Vol. I, sec. 769.

annals are very closely related to each other. Now we have seen that there is also strong evidence pointing to a close relationship between the Menahem section of the annals and the events of Tiglath-pileser's third year—exactly the result that was to have been expected if the Azariah-Menahem sections of the annals are so closely related to each other.

Although the available evidence does not permit us to speak with absolute finality as to just when the western uprising sponsored by Azariah of Judah was put down and when Menahem of Samaria paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser, the evidence we have just considered points more definitely to a date toward the beginning of Tiglath-pileser's northwestern campaign of 743-738 than toward its close. Such a date would be quite in keeping with the terminal dates of 742/41 for Menahem and 740/39 for Azariah, as called for by the present reconstruction of the reigns of the Hebrew kings.

Chapter Six

THE CHRONOLOGY OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, 740-716 B.C.

THE period we are about to enter bristles with difficulties, both internal and external. It is here that the most baffling problems of Hebrew chronology are found. Every Old Testament scholar is acquainted with the difficulties encountered in the endeavor to harmonize all the statements of the Massoretic text with each other and with the historical data of the Assyrian inscriptions. In the many chronological systems that are now afield, almost every type of adjustment has been attempted in the Biblical data for this period, yet in all of them something is wrong, and it is frankly admitted that the final solution has not been found. Schrader, in setting forth the difficulties of this period, declares:

There gapes here a chronological discrepancy which refuses to be explained away. If the Assyrian chronology, certified, as we have said, five-fold, be the correct one, the Biblical cannot be correct. . . . But, if the Biblical chronology is to be rejected in the statements that have reference to the later period, i.e., the period which lies nearer to the chronicler, how are we justified in assuming for the earlier period a greater trustworthiness, open as it is to still other grounds of objection?¹

And yet again:

Unfortunately we cease to feel confidence in the scriptural computation just at the point where a comparison with another chronological system is rendered possible. . . . It is therefore in the most recent period of chronology that our verdict must be pronounced against the scriptural system, though we should have expected the most trustworthy and unassailable statements with respect to that period. The system must, however, be abandoned in presence of the corresponding statements of the monuments and the eponym canon.²

To Schrader it appeared quite certain that some shift somewhere would have to be made if harmony was to be secured, but concerning the introduction of proposed adjustments he declared: "But

1. Eberhard Schrader, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, trans. Owen C. Whitehouse (London, 1885), I, 213.

2. *Ibid.*, II, 164-65.

this again destroys the entire synchronism of Judean and Israelite history, for in these annals everything is so closely dovetailed together that, if we remove a single stone, the entire structure tumbles to pieces."³

Everyone who is acquainted with the details of Biblical chronological data for this period will well understand the points that Schrader has raised. Unable to make the details of the Old Testament record harmonize with the contemporary history of neighboring states, many a scholar felt it necessary to discard the Biblical data concerning these Hebrew kings and to assign them dates as these might be established by synchronisms with the nations about. Others, endeavoring to hold to what they supposed was the Biblical chronology for this time, took it upon themselves to reconstruct the secular history of the age, disregarding the very important evidence supplied by contemporary monuments and creating a pattern of secular history as they felt it ought to be in line with their systems of "Biblical" chronology.

The results were, of course, far from satisfactory. Those who abandoned the Biblical system found themselves in the mood to condemn that system, believing the chronological data of the Old Testament to be unreliable, not in accord with the facts of the times, historically worthless, and fit only to be cast away. Those who in the attempt to cling to the "Biblical" system endeavored to reconstruct the history of the nations about and invented historical "facts" of which there was no historical evidence, found their efforts disparaged by some of the keenest minds in the field of Old Testament scholarship. Many earnest students of the Old Testament found themselves in grave perplexity at the seeming utter impossibility to bring harmony between the facts as they were set forth by the monuments and the data of the Biblical record.

It will not be our province here to enter into a discussion of all the various intricacies of the chronological problems of this portion of the Old Testament.⁴ With many of them we will become acquainted as we proceed. The relevant items in the record will be presented and will be subjected to a careful analysis, so that we may ascertain if possible the exact nature of the difficulties involved and discover if we can any indications pointing to a possible solution.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 217.

4. For a presentation of some of these difficulties see Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *Acta orientalia*, IX (1941), 213 ff.; Karl Chr. W. F. Bähr, *The Books of the Kings*, trans. W. G. Sumner (New York, 1872), Book II, pp. 160 ff.

We will proceed with the data as given in the Massoretic text. The last dates secured in our study were the terminal dates for Azariah and Pekahiah, 740/39. A careful study of the Assyrian documents covering that period revealed no flaws in the accuracy of those dates. Azariah was succeeded by his son Jotham in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). Jotham's reign is declared to have been sixteen years (II Kings 15:33), but according to the chronological pattern of Israel for this period, Hoshea is said to have come to the throne in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30). Such a synchronism immediately raises the question as to just how long Jotham reigned, whether sixteen or twenty years, and why, if he reigned sixteen years, a synchronism is given in terms of his twentieth year, and why, if he reigned twenty years, the statement is made that he reigned sixteen years. With this point we will deal more fully later in this chapter. Another synchronism gives the accession of Hoshea in the twelfth year of Ahaz, son and successor of Jotham (II Kings 17:1). According to such a pattern there would be an overlap of twelve years between the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, at the termination of which Hoshea came to the throne. Since Azariah the father of Jotham died in the year 740/39, that would be the year when he was succeeded by Jotham. Twenty years from that time, his "twentieth year," sometime during which Hoshea came to the throne, would in that case be 720/19. This same year, 720/19, would also be the twelfth year of Ahaz. Ahaz ruled sixteen years (II Kings 16:2; II Chron. 28:1), which would bring the termination of his reign in 716/15, at which time he was succeeded by his son Hezekiah (II Kings 16:20; II Chron. 28:27).

This date for the accession of Hezekiah is a date of vital importance, for it provides an opportunity of testing another exact synchronism between Hebrew and Assyrian history. It was in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah that Sennacherib made his famous attack on Judah (II Kings 18:13; Isa. 36:1). If Hezekiah came to the throne in 716/15, his fourteenth year would be from Tishri, 702, to Tishri, 701. Assyrian campaigns started in the spring of the year, after the rains of the fall and winter were over and when the spring harvests were ripe so that the armies could live off the land. Thus, the time of Sennacherib's attack would not be between Tishri and the end of 702, but between the spring and fall of 701. This is the date secured for this campaign from Assyrian records.⁵ The absolute accord between Biblical and Assyrian chronology at this point is most interest-

5. Schrader, *op. cit.*, I, 307-10.

ing and striking, for it will be remembered that our last precise synchronisms between Hebrew and Assyrian kings were in the years 853 and 841. We have followed through a century and a half of Hebrew chronology based solely upon the data of the Biblical record, and when next we have an opportunity to check with Assyrian history, we find that this synchronism of Hezekiah comes out exactly right. The fact that the independent records of both the Hebrews and the Assyrians give us precisely the same figure for an interval of 152 years from the death of Ahab and the sixth year of Shalmaneser III in the eponymy of Daian-Assur to the fourteenth year of Hezekiah and Sennacherib's attack upon the cities of Judah, and 140 years from the accession of Jehu and Athaliah and the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser in the eponymy of Adad-rimani to the fourteenth year of Hezekiah and Sennacherib's "third" campaign directed against the Hittite-land, the eponymy of Hananai, gives assurance that we are here dealing with sources containing a measure of accuracy for which many had hardly dared hope. Certainly we have indications here that we are dealing with sources based upon an absolute chronology, not only in the case of Assyrian history but in Hebrew history as well.

A more detailed study of the chronological data of this particular period will, however, reveal certain unusual and startling results, as may already have been observed. Let us consider some of these. We have previously secured the date 740/39 for the termination of the reigns of Azariah in Judah and Pekahiah in Israel. Pekahiah was succeeded by Pekah (II Kings 15:25). On the basis of the death of Pekahiah in 740/39 and on the basis of the accession of Pekah in the fifty-second and last year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27), 740/39, we may begin Pekah's reign in 740/39. He ruled twenty years (II Kings 15:27), which would bring the termination of his reign in 720/19. But such a date is incompatible with the requirements of contemporary history, for Tiglath-pileser III claims that when the people of the land of Omri deposed Pekah their king he placed Hoshea upon the throne.⁶ Scholars have long recognized the fact that the crisis faced by Ahaz in the attack made upon him by Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Syria and which he met by purchasing the aid of Tiglath-pileser for an Assyrian attack upon Damascus (II Kings 16:5-9; Isa. 7:1-16; 8:1-4), almost certainly took place during the years 734, 733, and 732, during the eponymies of Bel-dan, Assur-daninani, and

6. Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. I (Chicago, 1926), sec. 816.

Nabu-bel-usur, when the annual campaigns were against Philistia, Damascus, and again Damascus. Thus the Assyrian documents not only provide information that the reign of Pekah overlapped that of Tiglath-pileser III, 745-727, but the Eponym Chronicle almost certainly provides the date 732 as the year when Pekah terminated his reign and when Hoshea came to the throne. But that year, it will be noticed, is twelve years before the date 720/19 that we secured when we began Pekah's reign in 740/39. If Pekah's reign began in 740/39, as we seemed to have indications that it did, and if it terminated in 732, as there is evidence that it must, then his reign was only eight years in length instead of twenty. Or, if Pekah's reign terminated in 732, as we are almost certain it did, then, on the basis of II Kings 15:27, his reign began in 752/51, not in 740/39—twelve years before the date when we began his reign. This is a point we will need to keep in mind in connection with the problem before us.

In Judah, Azariah was succeeded by Jotham (II Kings 15:7; II Chron. 26:23), and Jotham by Ahaz (II Kings 15:38; II Chron. 27:9), in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1). If Pekah's reign began in 740/39, the year we at first proposed, this would bring his seventeenth year in 723/22. But that year would be impossible for the beginning of the reign of Ahaz, for in such a case the contacts between Ahaz and Tiglath-pileser III mentioned not only in the Old Testament (II Kings 16:7-10; II Chron. 28:20, 21), but also in the Assyrian records,⁷ could not have taken place, for Tiglath-pileser terminated his reign in 727. It would be easy enough to say that we have here an item in the Biblical records entirely impossible and altogether worthless, but let us endeavor to analyze our problem and see if there might not be something in this situation that could help reveal the nature of our difficulty and its probable solution. We started with the year 740/39 as the beginning of Pekah's reign, and thus secured 723/22 as his seventeenth year. And II Kings 16:1 tells us that it was in the seventeenth year of Pekah that Ahaz came to the throne. But 723/22 is definitely not the year when Ahaz began his reign, for there are indications from Assyrian history that the contacts he had with Tiglath-pileser III took place some ten to twelve years before, in the years 734-732. It is clear, then, that Pekah's reign must be reckoned from some point ten to twelve years earlier than 740/39.

A consideration of the age relationships between Ahaz and Hezekiah likewise has a bearing on this problem. Ahaz at the time of his

7. *Ibid.*, sec. 801.

accession was twenty years of age (II Kings 16:2; II Chron. 28:1), and it was in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1) that he came to the throne. So Ahaz was twenty years old in Pekah's seventeenth year. Pekah reigned twenty years (II Kings 15:27) which would make the age of Ahaz twenty-three in the year in which Pekah terminated his reign. Pekah was slain and succeeded by Hoshea (II Kings 15:30). In the third year of Hoshea, according to II Kings 18:1, Hezekiah began his reign. By that time Ahaz would be twenty-six. But at that same time his son Hezekiah was twenty-five (II Kings 18:20; II Chron. 29:1). Obviously something is here seriously wrong, for certainly a child of one year could not be a father. Let us endeavor to analyze the nature of our difficulty. In the above synchronisms, two kings of Judah, Ahaz and Hezekiah, were placed side by side with two kings of Israel, Pekah and Hoshea. When thus placed, with Ahaz beginning his reign in the seventeenth year of Pekah at the age of twenty and with Hezekiah beginning his reign in the third year of Hoshea at the age of twenty-five, the result was that Ahaz was twenty-six when his son was twenty-five.

Let us make this matter a little more specific by applying definite dates. If we take 739 as the year of Pekah's accession, we secure 722 as his seventeenth year, when Ahaz began to rule at the age of twenty. Three years later he was twenty-three, in Pekah's twentieth year, 719. That would be the year when Hoshea deposed Pekah and took his throne. Three years later Ahaz was twenty-six, in 716. That was the third year of Hoshea, and it was also the year when Hezekiah came to the throne at the age of twenty-five. This last item, that Hezekiah came to the throne in 716/15, we have seen is correct. But if this is right, something must be wrong. We have noticed indications that the reign of Pekah began some twelve years earlier than 739. And if Pekah's reign is to be moved back twelve years, then the reign of Hoshea who succeeded him must also be moved back a similar distance. But what about the reign of Hezekiah? If 716/15 is the correct date of Hezekiah's accession, how can his reign be moved back twelve years in order that the synchronism of II Kings 18:1 might stand? And if Hezekiah's reign were moved back twelve years in order to bring his accession in the third year of Hoshea according to II Kings 18:1, what would be the result? Ahaz would still be twenty-six when Hezekiah was twenty-five. What we must see is that, no matter how far back we move the reigns of the kings of Israel, if we move back these reigns of the kings of Judah a similar distance, we will always secure the same results—Ahaz a father at the

age of one. The problem we face is one of babes of one being fathers of children or that of the synchronism of II Kings 18:1. It must be clear that if Ahaz is to be released from the difficult situation into which a combination of the above data places him, the reigns of Pekah and Hoshea must be moved back to a point some years earlier in relation to the reign of Hezekiah than is called for by the synchronism of II Kings 18:1.

The events of contemporary history provide certain rather definite dates for each of these kings: 732/31 as the terminal year of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea; 716/15 as the accession year of Hezekiah; and an accession of Ahaz early enough to make possible contacts between him and Tiglath-pileser in 734 to 732. Given a terminal date of 732/31 for Pekah, the beginning of his twenty-year reign would be 752/51, and in such a case we would have 735/34 as his seventeenth year. According to II Kings 16:1, Ahaz came to the throne in Pekah's seventeenth year. The accession of Ahaz at that time would be in keeping with the requirements of Assyrian history for his contacts with Tiglath-pileser in 734 to 732. If each of these kings is allowed to stand in the position just indicated, the impossible situation in the age relationships between Ahaz and Hezekiah otherwise called for will be avoided, but the synchronism of II Kings 18:1 must be faced as a problem for later consideration.

It will be observed that we have had three indications that the year we first proposed for Pekah's accession, 740/39, is incorrect, and that the date will in all probability be about twelve years earlier, 752/51. First, the evidence of the Assyrian monuments points to 732 as the probable date for the termination of Pekah's reign. Second, the synchronism of II Kings 16:1, of Ahaz's accession in Pekah's seventeenth year together with the known contacts of Ahaz with Tiglath-pileser in 734 to 732, require an accession date for Pekah at least as early as 752 or 751. Third, the question of the age relationships between Ahaz and Hezekiah require a moving back of the accession year of Pekah beyond 740 in relation to an accession year of 716/15 for Hezekiah, again to a point at least as early as 751. All this evidence makes it clear that the date 740/39 for Pekah's accession is definitely untenable.

We have yet to consider the reign of Hoshea. Two synchronisms are given for his accession, one in II Kings 15:30, the twentieth year of Jotham, and the other in II Kings 17:1, the twelfth year of Ahaz. On the basis of these two synchronisms, and beginning the reign of Jotham with the year in which Azariah died, we have a number of

factors which would lead to certain interesting results: (1) if the twenty years of Jotham are begun in 740/39, and if the twentieth year of Jotham is the year when Hoshea began his reign, in harmony with the synchronism of II Kings 15:30, then 720/19 is the year when Hoshea came to the throne; (2) if 720/19 is also the twelfth year of Ahaz, and if Hoshea's accession took place in the twelfth year of Ahaz according to the synchronism of II Kings 17:1, then 720/19 is the year when Hoshea began to reign; (3) if the accession of Hoshea took place in both the twentieth year of Jotham and the twelfth year of Ahaz, then there was a twelve-year overlap between the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz. It will be clear that if a conclusion is wrong, something must be wrong with the premises leading to that conclusion and it becomes our task to determine what that might be.

It will be immediately apparent to those acquainted with the history of this period that 720/19 cannot be the year of Hoshea's accession, for by that time his reign was over and the nation over which he once had ruled was no longer in existence. If Hoshea did not begin to reign till 720/19, his well-known contacts with Tiglath-pileser III, whose reign terminated in 727, would not be possible. It was Tiglath-pileser who claims to have placed Hoshea upon the throne.⁸ On the basis of the Assyrian inscriptions, the date of Pekah's death and of Hoshea's accession can be almost certainly given as 732—twelve years before 720/19. Since Hoshea did not begin his reign in 720/19, it is evident that something must be wrong with some of the "ifs" enumerated above which would lead to that conclusion. Let us endeavor to ascertain the source of our difficulty.

Our first point concerned 740/39 as the beginning of Jotham's reign and the synchronism of II Kings 15:30. What evidence do we have that 740/39 is the year when Jotham first began to reign? The fact that that is the year when his father Azariah died would not provide the proof, for it would be entirely possible for Jotham to have begun his rule as regent before his father's death, and for his years of reign to be numbered from the beginning of his coregency rather than his sole reign. If that were the case, then his twentieth year would not be 720/19 but some time before. When? We have already noticed that the evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions points to 732 as the year when Hoshea began to reign. If that date is correct, and if the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 is also correct, then 732 would be the twentieth year of Jotham. That date for the accession of Ahaz would fit perfectly with the termination of Jotham's

8. *Ibid.*, sec. 816.

reign in the same year. And with 732 for Ahaz's accession, we would have 716/15 as his sixteenth and final year and the year of Hezekiah's accession. Inasmuch as there is every indication that 716/15 is the correct year for Hezekiah's accession,⁹ there is every reason to believe that 732/31 is the correct year for the beginning of Ahaz's sixteen years of reign. All the evidence thus seems to point to 732/31 rather than 720/19 as the twentieth year of Jotham, and that being the case, the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 would support 732/31 rather than 720/19 as the year when Hoshea began his reign.

Let us next deal with our second point, the synchronism of II Kings 17:1 and the year 720/19 as the twelfth year of Ahaz as pointing to the year 720/19 for Hoshea's accession. Inasmuch as we have found nothing remiss with 720/19 as the twelfth year of Ahaz but every indication that that date is correct, the difficulty here must lie with the synchronism of II Kings 17:1, and in that case this synchronism must be placed with that of II Kings 18:1 for future consideration.

Concerning our third point, it will be noticed that if 732/31 is the correct date for the twentieth year of Jotham and the year of Ahaz's accession, and if 720/19 is the correct date for the twelfth year of Ahaz, then there was no twelve-year overlap between the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz as seemed to be called for by the two synchronisms of Hoshea's accession, II Kings 15:30 and 17:1.

We have just noticed that if the year 740/39, the date of Azariah's death, is used as the date of Jotham's accession, and 720/19 as his twentieth year, the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 would provide the date 720/19 for Hoshea's accession, thus placing that event some twelve years beyond its correct place in history. It will also be remembered in our discussion of the reign of Pekah, that if his twenty years were begun in 740/39, the date of Pekahiah's death, they would terminate in 720/19, thus again providing the date 720/19 for Hoshea's accession—twelve years beyond the correct date. And yet again we noticed that if Hoshea's accession is synchronized with the twelfth year of Ahaz according to II Kings 17:1, 720/19, we once more

9. Concerning this date 716/15 for Hezekiah's accession, Albright declares: "There is no rational escape from this date for Hezekiah's accession, since the campaign of Sennacherib in the summer of 701 is dated in the 14th year of Hezekiah. . . . Mowinckel has now come out strongly for this date. . . . Almost decisive should be the fact that Taharqo (Tirhakah) is known from Egyptian sources to have ascended the throne in 689, which preceded the death of Hezekiah (II Kings 19:9)" (W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 100 [December, 1945], p. 22).

secure the same date 720/19 for Hoshea's accession—again the same mysterious twelve years beyond its correct time in contemporary history.

Hoshea ruled nine years. If his accession is placed at some time between Nisan and Tishri, 719, his ninth and final year would fall in 710, and then this would also be the date for the fall of Samaria and the termination of the Northern Kingdom. It was Shalmaneser V, 727–722, who conducted the final siege of Samaria (II Kings 18:9). If Shalmaneser terminated his reign in 722 and Hoshea did not begin to reign till 719, no contacts would have been possible between these two kings. It will be noticed that 722, the year when Shalmaneser terminated his reign, is twelve years before 710, the terminal year of Hoshea if 719 were used as the year of his accession. Sargon II in a rather ambiguously worded statement in the final edition of his annals recorded on the walls of his palace at Dur-Sharrukin, claims the capture of Samaria at the beginning of his rule.¹⁰ It was in 722 that Sargon came to the throne. That again is twelve years before the year 710, the year for Samaria's fall if 719 is used as the year when Hoshea began to rule.

Let us notice again the synchronism of II Kings 18:1. It will be recalled that this was the synchronism which played such an important part in placing Ahaz in the position of being a father at the age of one. According to II Kings 18:1 the accession of Hezekiah took place in the third year of Hoshea. We know that 716/15 was the year of Hezekiah's accession. But if that is the year when Hezekiah began to rule, the synchronism of II Kings 18:1 would make 716/15 the third year of Hoshea, which would place his accession at about 719. But we know that the year when Hoshea came to the throne was at least some twelve years before, in 732/31. This synchronism of II Kings 18:1 thus seems to be strangely akin to that of II Kings 17:1 in placing the years of Hoshea some twelve years beyond their time as compared with the correct years of Ahaz and Hezekiah.

According to II Kings 18:9, 10, the siege of Samaria began in the seventh year of Hoshea and closed in his ninth year, and these years are synchronized with the fourth and the sixth years of Hezekiah. The fourth and the sixth years of Hezekiah are 712/11 and 710/9, while the seventh and the ninth years of Hoshea, beginning his reign in 719, would be 712 and 710. These dates are correct, as we have seen, for the years of Hezekiah, but they are some twelve years too low for the siege of Samaria and the closing years of Hoshea's reign.

10. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1927), sec. 4.

It will be observed that if the years of Hezekiah are allowed to remain in their correct position as compared with contemporary history, the synchronisms of II Kings 18:9, 10 would place the siege of Samaria and the closing years of Hoshea's reign some twelve years beyond the events of the Near Eastern world. In addition to the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, we now have those of II Kings 18:9, 10 reserved for further consideration.

It will be clear by this time that there is something strangely consistent in this series of inconsistencies, and it will be our task to ascertain, if we can, just what lies back of this. The synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10, it will be noticed, are all synchronisms involving the reign of Hoshea, with the years of this king placed some twelve years beyond the events of his time. If the reign of Ahaz was allowed to remain in its correct position, the synchronism of II Kings 17:1 placed the accession of Hoshea in 720/19 instead of 732/31. And if the reign of Hezekiah was allowed to remain in its correct position, the synchronisms of II Kings 18:1, 9, 10 placed the third, seventh, and ninth years of Hoshea some twelve years beyond their time. It was also noticed that if the reign of Jotham was begun in 740/39, the year of his father Azariah's death, the synchronism of II Kings 15:30, placing Hoshea's accession in Jotham's twentieth year, likewise provided the date 720/19 as the year when Hoshea began to reign—again this mysterious twelve years beyond his time. Yet again we noticed that if we began the twenty years of Pekah in 740/39, the year of Pekahiah's death, we once more secured 720/19 as the year of Pekah's assassination at the hands of Hoshea and the year when Hoshea came to the throne—once more some twelve years beyond the correct date.

The date 720/19 for Hoshea's accession may thus be secured in three different ways; namely, (1) by the synchronism of II Kings 17:1, placing his accession in the twelfth year of Ahaz, which was 720/19; (2) by the synchronism of II Kings 15:30, placing the commencement of his reign in the twentieth year of Jotham and beginning that reign in 740/39; and (3) beginning the reign of Pekah in 740/39, and bringing the termination of his twenty years in 720/19. It will thus be observed that we have here a mysterious chronological pattern in which the reigns of Jotham in Judah and Pekah and Hoshea in Israel are all tied together in positions some twelve years beyond the events of contemporary history. The mystery of this situation is heightened, however, when it is noticed that upon this same pattern the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah are in their correct

positions as regards the requirements of contemporary history, with 716/15 marking the termination of the reign of Ahaz and the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah. Let us emphasize the fact that in our first basic reconstruction of the pattern of the Hebrew kings based solely upon the Biblical evidence, the year 716/15 was secured for the termination of the reign of Ahaz and the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah, a date which was perfectly in order. But let it also be noticed that when the year 740/39 was employed for the beginning of the reigns of Jotham and Pekah, we found ourselves involved in a situation which placed not only these kings, but Hoshea as well, some twelve years beyond their time.

The result of our study thus far seems to indicate that when this portion of the chronological pattern of the Hebrew kings is completed, we will have dates somewhat as follows: Jotham, twentieth and last year, 732/31; Ahaz, beginning of sixteen-year reign, 732/31, termination, 716/15; Hezekiah, accession, 716/15; Pekah, beginning of twenty years, 752/51, termination, 732/31; Hoshea, accession, 732/31, termination 723/22. The above dates are not to be looked upon as dates which we have here established solely upon the basis of the Biblical data. Only the dates of Ahaz and Hezekiah have been thus secured, while it was the evidence of contemporary Assyrian history which pointed to the other dates as the probable years for Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea.

If we were to bring together all the causes which were responsible for the mysterious chronological pattern which seemed to place the reigns of Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea some twelve years beyond the events of contemporary history we would find that they are as follows: (a) a beginning of the reigns of Jotham and Pekah in the year 740/39 instead of twelve years before; and (b) the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10. These synchronisms will be discussed in the following chapter. Let us here take up the beginning of the reigns of Pekah and Jotham.

Pekah is said to have had his accession in the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27). Since Azariah had a reign of fifty-two years (II Kings 15:2; II Chron. 26:3), this would bring Pekah to the throne in the year in which Azariah died. And inasmuch as Azariah was succeeded by Jotham, Jotham certainly would also have come to the throne in the year in which Azariah died, and in that case we would have both Jotham and Pekah coming to the throne in the same year, both in the fifty-second year of Azariah. But the synchronism given for Jotham's accession is the second year of Pekah (II

Kings 15:32). If that synchronism is correct, and if the year when Pekah came to the throne is the year in which Azariah died, 740/39, then Jotham did not begin to reign till two years later, 738/37. But in such a case there would be a gap of some one or two years between the time that the aged Azariah died and the year when Jotham took the throne. Is such a gap likely? We have seen that interregna are seldom in evidence, and certainly we know of nothing that would call for an interregnum at such a time as this. On the contrary, we know that Azariah during the latter portion of his reign was seriously ill, having been smitten with leprosy, and that he was accordingly forced to spend the last years of his reign isolated in a house by himself while his son Jotham ruled (II Kings 15:5). Thus, instead of there having been an interval of two years between the time of Azariah's death and the year of Jotham's accession, we know that Jotham was already upon the throne before Azariah's death in his fifty-second year. Once more this gives evidence that the beginning of Jotham's reign must be moved back to some period before 740/39.

If the synchronism for Jotham's accession in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32), applies to his accession in 740/39, at the time of Azariah's death, then the beginning of Pekah's reign would have to be moved back two years, to 742/41 instead of 740/39. But that would hardly be correct, for, as we have seen, there is every indication that the beginning of Pekah's reign must be moved back not two years beyond 740/39, but twelve, to 752, not 742. If the beginning of Pekah's reign is to be 752, then the synchronism of Jotham's accession in the second year of Pekah would apply, not to his accession at the time of his father Azariah's death in 740/39, but to the time when he first took the throne as coregent, in the second year of a reign of Pekah beginning in 752, not in 740.

It has already been made clear that the reigns of both Jotham in Judah and Pekah in Israel will need to be pushed back some twelve years beyond the date previously suggested, 740/39. And it will be recalled that this date was suggested by the terminal year of 740/39 for Azariah in Judah and Pekahiah in Israel. Can it be that our terminal date for these two kings is wrong, and that this should be 752/51, instead of 740/39? For Azariah such a terminal date is out of the question, for it would make impossible the well-known contacts between Azariah and Tiglath-pileser III who did not begin his reign till 745. For Israel the difficulty must be found this side of the reign of Menahem, for if his reign were thrown back twelve years beyond

its present terminal date of 742/41, it would end in 754/53, and then again the well-known contacts between Menahem and Tiglath-pileser would not be possible. If the date for Menahem cannot be moved back twelve years but must remain where it is, with a terminal date of 742/11, neither can Pekahiah's reign be pushed back twelve years with a terminal date of 752/51 instead of 740/39, for that is the year when Menahem the father of Pekahiah came to the throne. Every indication is that 740/39 is the correct date for the termination of the reigns of Pekahiah and Azariah, but every indication also is that the reigns of both Pekah and Jotham will need to be pushed back some twelve years beyond that time.

If 740/39 is not the correct year for the beginning of the reigns of Jotham and Pekah, is there anything in the Biblical record which might indicate when these reigns did begin? The only item known to the writer is the synchronism of II Kings 17:1, placed together with the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 and studied in the light of all the available evidence. It was the information supplied by these references which was responsible for the reconstruction of the chronology of this exceedingly difficult period of Hebrew history to be set forth in the following pages.

It has already been noted that the synchronism of II Kings 17:1 poses a problem that was reserved for later consideration. But it will also be recalled that it was that synchronism together with the synchronism of II Kings 15:30, which enabled us to go on from the dates previously established in our chronology, to the year 720/19 as the twelfth year of Ahaz. So the important function of II Kings 17:1 is to provide correctly the dating of the reign of Ahaz and thus also that of Hezekiah his successor. With 720/19 as the twelfth year of Ahaz, 732/31 is the year of his accession. If there was no twelve-year coregency between Jotham and Ahaz as first seemed to be called for by the two synchronisms of Hoshea's accession, II Kings 15:30 and 17:1, then 732/31 is also the terminal year of Jotham. Inasmuch as all the evidence is against the existence of such a coregency, the vital function of II Kings 15:30 when placed in conjunction with the important information of II Kings 17:1 concerning the years of Ahaz, is to provide the date 732/31 as the twentieth year of Jotham. That is a date of some importance, for once that date is settled we will be in a position to secure the date for the beginning of Jotham's reign, and by means of cross synchronisms with Israel, the dates for the remaining rulers of the Northern Kingdom. To the extent that 732/31 is correct for the twentieth and last year

of Jotham, to that extent all other dates based upon that year will also be correct, and to the extent that it is wrong, to that extent all other dates based upon it will likewise be wrong. If 732/31 is the correct date for the termination of the reign of Jotham it should result in a chronological pattern that is sound, being harmonious with itself and in accord with the facts of contemporary history. On that basis we will now proceed, allowing the resultant facts to speak for themselves.

If 732/31 is the twentieth year of Jotham, then 751/50 is the first year of his coregency with his father. Jotham is said to have come to the throne in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). Attention has already been called to the fact that this is not and could not be the second year of Pekah's reign as reckoned from the year when Pekahiah died, 740/39, and which synchronized with the fifty-second year of Azariah when Pekah is said to have begun his reign (II Kings 15:27), for such a reckoning of Pekah's reign would provide for a gap of some one or two years between the time of Azariah's death and the year when Jotham became king. Other important items were also noticed indicating that in some sense the reckoning of Pekah's reign of twenty years must go back twelve years beyond 740/39, to the year 752. Given 751/50 as the first year of Jotham's coregency, we should find a synchronism somewhere between Tishri, 751, and Tishri, 750, with the second year of Pekah. Nisan, 750, to Nisan, 749, provides such a synchronizing year. If this year, 750/49, is Pekah's second year, synchronizing with the beginning of Jotham's reign, then 752/51 is the year from which Pekah commenced the reckoning of his reign of twenty years (II Kings 15:27). And that, it will be remembered, is the very year required for the beginning of this reign on the basis of Assyrian evidence for the termination of his reign in 732.

But there are also problems. This year 752/51, which we secured as the year from which Pekah began to reckon his reign, is also, strangely, the year when Menahem, father of Pekahiah, whom Pekah overthrew and whose throne he seized (II Kings 15:25), began his reign. If the above chronological pattern is correct, we are here brought face to face with an interesting problem—the reason why Pekah should choose to begin counting the years of his reign not from the time when he overthrew Pekahiah and seized his throne but from the time when Pekahiah's father, Menahem, overthrew Shallum and took the kingdom (II Kings 15:14). No answer to this question is left on record, and we can only surmise what it might be.

The supposition that, during the reigns of Menahem and Pekahiah, Pekah might have been ruling over part of the troubled land of Israel as a rival king is ruled out by the fact that Pekah was an important officer in the court of Pekahiah, his *šālīš* (II Kings 15:25).¹¹ It is possible that, at the court of Menahem, Pekah was already a person of some prominence, and it might be that at the time of Menahem's seizure of the throne, Pekah was one of the co-conspirators, possibly even hoping to take the kingdom for himself. Now, having taken it upon himself to wipe out the house of Menahem, Pekah may have decided to take to himself the credit for the years that that house had ruled. The years of Pekah being reckoned in this manner in the nation of Israel, it was this manner of reckoning that was accepted by the scribes of Judah and which found its way into the official records of the Southern Kingdom, with the synchronisms of Jotham and Ahaz (II Kings 15:32; 16:1) worked out and correctly recorded in line with this unusual method. To those living at the period of these kings the meaning of what had been done would be perfectly clear, but at a late period the exact significance of these synchronisms might be forgotten with resultant uncertainty and confusion.

It will be recalled that just prior to the period here under review the kings of both Israel and Judah, Jeroboam II and Azariah, had reckoned their years of rule not from the beginning of their sole reigns but from the commencement of their respective coregencies, and that each nation extended to the other the courtesy of accepting this method of reckoning when expressing synchronisms in terms of

11. The term *šālīš* appears quite frequently in the Assyrian records, and its various usages in the seventh century B.C. are discussed at some length by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns in his *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (Cambridge, 1901), II, 114 ff. While at times the term was used to indicate some officer who was definitely third in rank in relationship to some other officer, it is nearly always used in an absolute sense simply to indicate some officer or official, without evidence of any other officer to whom he was next in relationship. The exact meaning of the term among the Hebrews is obscure, but the *šālīš* was evidently a person of some prominence. At an early period in the history of Israel the term may have been used for some military officer; for, when the names of David's heroes were listed, the first name to appear was that of "Ishbaal the Hachmonite, who was leader of the Three" (II Sam. 23:8, American Translation). In the case of Jehoram, the *šālīš* was evidently the right-hand man of the king, for he is spoken of as the "Lord on whose hand the king leaned" (II Kings 7:2). At the time when Samaria was reduced to the most desperate straits during the siege by Syria, it was this officer who was sent with an important message to Elisha, probably to sound out the prophet as to some means of relief (II Kings 6:26-33), and it was he who, at the hour of Samaria's deliverance, had charge of the gate (II Kings 7:17), possibly as judge in place of the king. When Jehu slew Jehoram, it was Bidkar his *šālīš* who was ordered to dispose of the body of the fallen king (II Kings 9:24, 25).

the years of the other's kings. So there existed at least half a century of precedent, of kings beginning to number their years not from the commencement of their sole reigns but from their first assumption of power. What precedent Pekah may or may not have had for numbering his years from the year of assumption of power on the part of the house he overthrew we do not know, but usurpers do not always wait for precedent, and the evidence is incontestable that this is exactly what he did.¹² It is entirely possible that Pekah in his overthrow of Pekahiah may have had in mind the expunging of the dynasty of Menahem from the official records, treating it as if it had never existed, with the years of Israel's kings henceforth to be reckoned in terms of the house of Pekah, and with the house of Menahem to receive no recognition in the future history of Israel.

Having now the tentative dates of 751/50 for the accession of Jotham and 752/51 for the accession of Pekah, we are in a position to carry the chronology through on this basis and notice the results. It will again be remembered that in our first attempt at the reconstruction of the chronology of the kings of Israel for this period, we began the reign of Pekah with the year 740/39, but now we are beginning it with 752/51, twelve years earlier. It will be recognized that the peculiarly rigid requirements of the system of combined synchronisms and lengths of reign for the kings of Israel and Judah, together with the many contacts between Assyria and the Hebrew kings of the ensuing period, will provide a most severe test as to the accuracy of the historical pattern here to be set forth.

The length of Jotham's reign is thrice recorded as sixteen years

12. Every investigator who has gone carefully into the chronology of this period has noticed that Pekah could not have had a sole reign of twenty years. Various types of adjustment have been attempted. Löw takes the view that Pekah ruled only five years instead of twenty and that the latter figure was inserted into the record by well-meaning but blundering Exilic chronologers (see Gustav Löw, "Das synchronistische System der Königsbücher," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIII [1900], 167). Lederer makes the accession of Pekah contemporaneous with Menahem, taking the view that he ruled as a rival of Menahem (see Carl Lederer, *Die biblische Zeitrechnung vom Auszuge aus Ägypten bis zum Beginne der babylonischen Gefangenschaft* [Speier, 1887/88], pp. 135 ff.). Helleman also begins the reign of Pekah in the same year as Menahem, declaring that he usurped the latter's reign (Alfred Helleman, *Chronologia probabiliter vera historiae Judaicae et Israëlitas gentis ab Abrahamo ad Christum* [Hafniae, 1925], pp. 71, 73). Chapman's position is almost identical with that of the writer. He suggests that, inasmuch as Pekah was leader of the anti-Assyrian party, he reckoned his own reign *de jure* from the downfall of the house of Jehu and endeavored to expunge as usurpers the two kings of the pro-Assyrian house of Menahem (W. J. Chapman, "The Problem of Inconsequent Post-dating in II Kings XV. 13, 17 and 23," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II [1925], 59).

(II Kings 15:33; II Chron. 27:1, 8), which would bring the termination of his rule in 736/35. For some strange reason we find not only the above three statements to the effect that Jotham reigned sixteen years, but we also find the synchronism previously referred to of Hoshea's accession in Jotham's twentieth year (II Kings 15:30). The use of this latter synchronism would seem to imply that, while in one sense the reign of Jotham might be regarded as being sixteen years, in another sense he had a reign of at least twenty years. If this were not the case, we would hardly have a scribe placing on record the synchronism of II Kings 15:30, four years after the king's death. The probabilities are that these four years cover a coregency between Jotham and his son Ahaz, from 736/35 to 732/31, with Ahaz taking over control of affairs in 736/35, but with the death of Jotham not taking place till 732/31.

Let us notice the evidence that exists for an accession of Ahaz in the year 736/35. First is the fact that the length of Jotham's reign is officially given as sixteen years (II Kings 15:33). With 751/50 as his first year, 736/35 would be his sixteenth year, and the year when in some manner Ahaz first took the throne. Second is the synchronism of Ahaz's accession in the seventeenth year of Pekah (II Kings 16:1). With 752/51 as the beginning of Pekah's reign, 735/34 would be his seventeenth year, and we would thus have 735 as the year when Ahaz began to reign. Third is the evidence of II Kings 16:5-10 and Isa. 7:1-16; 8:1-4, when placed together with the testimony of the Assyrian inscriptions as pointing to the years 734-732 as the period of crisis involving Ahaz, Pekah, Rezin, and Tiglath-pileser III.

But if we have evidence for 735 as the year when Jotham relinquished and Ahaz undertook control of the affairs of Judah, we also have evidence for the year 732/31. That Jotham continued at least till that year is indicated by the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 placing Hoshea's accession in Jotham's twentieth year. That year we have every reason to believe was 732. And we have the further evidence of II Kings 16:2 and II Chron. 28:1, giving the length of Ahaz's reign as sixteen years. With 716/15 as his sixteenth year, 732/31 would mark the beginning of his reign. It will thus be noticed that we have ample testimony for both 735 and 732/31 as terminal years for Jotham and also as years when Ahaz began his reign.

Putting all the data together as to synchronisms and lengths of reign, the evidence points clearly to 735 as the year when Ahaz first began to reign. Such a date is definitely called for by the testimony of the Assyrian monuments, for it was in the three-year period ter-

minating in 732 that the crisis of Ahaz involving Pekah of Israel, Rezin of Syria, the Philistines, and Tiglath-pileser III took place. The question may well be asked as to whether the crisis then developing may have had something to do with terminating the active rule of Jotham and placing Ahaz on the throne.

If Ahaz began to reign in 735 rather than 732/31, his full total of regnal years would of course have been twenty rather than sixteen.¹³ The above pattern of reign for Jotham would provide for a twelve-year coregency with his father Azariah, from 751/50 to 740/39, four years of sole reign, from 740/39 to 736/35, and four years of coregency with his son Ahaz, from 736/35 to 732/31. That Jotham reigned alone at least three years is indicated by a statement in II Chron. 27:5, that he was victorious over the Ammonites and that they paid tribute to him three years. The Ammonites were already tributary to Azariah (II Chron. 26:8), and it is altogether possible that upon Azariah's death they ceased paying tribute but were again brought into subjection by Jotham early in his reign. The fact that Jotham is pictured as a strong ruler (II Chron. 27:5), but that Ammon is reported as having paid tribute to him only until the third year may indicate this as the extent of his years of active control and the time when Ahaz was summoned to take the helm.¹⁴ If Jotham had been following the policy of his father Azariah, as was in all probability the case, little in the way of alignment with Assyria could have been expected from him. It will be recalled that in the years 736 and 735, Tiglath-pileser was again in the northwest in the regions of Mount Nal and Urartu. A rising demand for cooperation with rather than resistance against Assyria, by a pro-Assyrian group, was in all probability responsible for placing Jotham in retirement and bringing Ahaz to the throne.

The question would then arise, how long did Ahaz rule? Should his reign be reckoned from 736/35, when he was brought to power by this pro-Assyrian group, or from 732/31, when he began to rule in his own right? Had the pro-Assyrian group continued in power

13. Among scholars who assign twenty instead of sixteen years to Ahaz are Adolf Kamphausen (*Die Chronologie der Hebräischen Könige* [Bonn, 1883], p. 28) and Mowinckel (*op. cit.*, pp. 231-32).

14. I am indebted to Professor W. A. Irwin for the suggestion that the termination of Ammonite tribute after three years may in all probability be attributed to the threat of Assyria and to the fact that Ahaz at the beginning of his rule found himself too much occupied with other pressing concerns to do anything about Ammon—not until it was too late and his submission to Assyria had been made.

the answer would of course have been twenty years, and if that item had somewhere entered into the records, the difficulty of our task would have been lightened. With Hezekiah's accession there was a swing against pro-Assyrianism, and at that time the entry was probably made in the official annals of a reign of sixteen and not twenty years for Ahaz. The question will be asked, however, if this was done for Ahaz why was it not also done for Jotham, and why was not this anti-Assyrian king given credit for his full twenty years by the anti-Assyrian group? Again the answer is simple. When Jotham completed his reign, it was not the anti- but the pro-Assyrian group that was in power, and in the official court records the entry was made for Jotham of only sixteen years—the remaining four years of his life not being accredited to him in the length of his official reign, but to be recalled by some scribe when the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 came into being. In such a case, the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 was hardly the product of the hand of a scribe of Israel—a nation very soon after the accession of Hoshea to pass away—but of an anti-Assyrian scribe of the land of Judah.

Whether the reign of Ahaz is reckoned as a twenty-year reign beginning in 735—the sixteenth year of Jotham when the latter relinquished control of national affairs—or whether it is reckoned as a sixteen-year reign beginning in 732/31, the twentieth and last year of Jotham, it would in either case terminate in 716/15 when Hezekiah came to the throne.¹⁵

It will be noticed that the synchronism of Jotham's accession is expressed in terms of the years of Pekah rather than Menahem, although it was Menahem who was then upon the throne. We have here a clear indication that not all the synchronisms that have come down to us were immediately recorded in the form in which they now are found, at the time of a king's accession. It is entirely possible that at the time that Jotham took the throne in the second year of Menahem, his accession was synchronized with the years of that king and thus entered into the official records, and that later, when Pekah took it upon himself to appropriate the years of the house he

15. This date, 716/15, for the death of Ahaz is of importance to the correct exegesis of Isa. 14:28-32, on which so much has been written. It would support Irwin's interpretation that the broken rod is Ahaz and that, with the death of this king, Philistia had little ground for rejoicing; for Hezekiah would bring upon that nation still greater ruin, which II Kings 18:8 indicates was indeed the case (see W. A. Irwin, "The Exposition of Isaiah 14:28-32," *AJSL*, XLIV [1928], 73 ff.). The position of Begrich, that the broken rod was Tiglath-pileser III, would of course be untenable (Joachim Begrich, "Jesaja 14, 28-32: Ein Beitrag zur Chronologie der israelitisch-judäischen Königszeit," *ZDMG*, LXXXVI [1933], 66 ff.).

overthrew, an adjustment was made in harmony with a reign for Pekah figured upon such an unusual basis. In such a case it would be possible for vestiges of an earlier synchronism to come down to a later period together with another synchronism from a later time. Certainly the two synchronisms for Hoshea's accession, the one in II Kings 15:30 and the other in II Kings 17:1, should raise a question as to their exact significance.

The date 735 for the accession of Ahaz meets every requirement of the events of contemporary history previously mentioned. It meets the test of the synchronism of II Kings 16:1, one of the most difficult in the whole series of synchronisms. Let us see what it does in regard to the test provided by the relative ages of Ahaz and Hezekiah. Ahaz at the time of his accession in the seventeenth year of Pekah, 735, was twenty years old (II Kings 16:1, 2; II Chron. 28:1). That would make his age in 716/15, the year of Hezekiah's accession, either thirty-nine or forty, depending upon the exact time of the year 716/15 that Hezekiah came to the throne. Hezekiah at that time was twenty-five (II Kings 18:2; II Chron. 29:1), which would bring the age of Ahaz to fourteen or fifteen at the time of Hezekiah's birth. Judged by western and modern standards, that age is definitely young, but it is not out of keeping with evidence concerning age patterns in certain lands even today,¹⁶ and particularly not with practices in the orient, both ancient and modern. In her study on marriage conditions in Palestine, Hilma Granqvist has a chapter on "The Age of Marriage,"¹⁷ in which she calls attention to the fact that child marriage in Palestine is very general, girls being brides at ages from 12 to 14, and with the husbands at times being mere boys.

16. In Guatemalan villages, for instance, marriages are usually arranged for lads when they are between fourteen and sixteen years old, with the bride being a year or so younger than the groom. "Marriage may take place even earlier, when the boy is but ten or eleven years old and when the girl is only nine or ten years old. Such early marriages are considered excellent 'because they grow up together.' But in such cases the father must be well-to-do and he must be willing to support the young couple for a few years" (Charles Wagley, "The Social and Religious Life of a Guatemalan Village," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. LI [1949], No. 4, Part 2, Memoir No. 71, p. 37).

17. Hilma Granqvist, *Marriage Conditions in a Palestinian Village* ("Commentationes humanarum litterarum," Vol. III, No. 8 [1931] [Helsingfors: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1931]), pp. 23-46. Miss Granqvist includes a good bibliography on the subject of child marriage in Palestine and near-by countries. In one instance mention is made of two brothers of eight and twelve who were married, the older of whom went to school with his wife. See also Spoer-Haddad, "Volkskundliches aus el-Qubebe bei Jerusalem," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiet*, I (Leipzig, 1927), 132.

The information revealed in the data concerning the Hebrew kings, that members of the royal family at times were parents at the early age of fourteen or fifteen, is an interesting revelation concerning social life in Palestine at the time of the divided monarchies.

Let us return to the reign of Pekah, this time attempting the reconstruction of his reign on the basis of the beginning of his twenty years in 752/51 rather than 740/39. If Pekah began reckoning his reign of twenty years from 752/51, the termination of that reign would come in 732/31. That is the very year that is indicated for the close of his reign by Assyrian sources. Tiglath-pileser in 734, according to the Eponym Chronicle, was engaged in a campaign against Philistia, while Damascus was the scene of attack in 733 and 732. It seems altogether probable that the presence of Tiglath-pileser in Philistia in 734 must have had some connection with the attack of Pekah and Rezin on Ahaz and the latter's call to Tiglath-pileser for aid. In all likelihood, a coalition to resist the Assyrian advance to the Mediterranean had been formed by the states of the west, and the attack on Ahaz may have been prompted by his refusal to enter that coalition. In fact, Ahaz may already have been a tributary ally of Tiglath-pileser, and the latter's campaign against Philistia may have been prompted in part by a call from Ahaz for aid when the outlying districts of Judah were forced to submit to Philistine invasion (II Chron. 28:18). Such a reliance of Ahaz upon Assyria would in all likelihood call down upon him the wrath of Syria and Israel, to be followed by Ahaz's next desperate call to the Assyrian king for succor (II Kings 16:7, 8). Although the campaigns of 733 and 732 against Damascus may have been Tiglath-pileser's response to the call of Ahaz for aid, they no doubt constituted some important part of a larger, purely Assyrian plan for the total subjugation of the Westland. By 732 Ahaz no doubt recognized the fulfillment of the prophet Isaiah's predictions concerning an early doom for the kings both of Samaria and Damascus (Isa. 7:1-16; 8:1-4).

Let us notice that the present reconstruction of the history of Judah and Israel is thus far in complete accord with the details of contemporary history,¹⁸ and that our results have been in no wise

18. Inasmuch as almost all modern scholars have come to the conclusion that the Biblical chronology for this period is hopelessly in error and have despaired of reaching any sound results from an adherence to the Biblical data, most modern reconstructions of Hebrew chronology for this time have been arrived at by an endeavor to fit the events of the kings of Judah and Israel into the dated events of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and his successors. Some of the results reached have been remarkably accurate. Thus Steuernagel came to the con-

secured by an abandonment of the Biblical chronological data but by a careful endeavor to come to an understanding of the true nature thereof, and to make that the basis of the unfolding chronological scheme for the Hebrew kings.

Pekah, whose reign terminated in 732/31, was succeeded by Hoshea in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30). The synchronism of II Kings 17:1 has already been mentioned and will be discussed further in the next chapter. The twentieth year of Jotham has been established as 732/31, so once more we find a synchronism for the accession of a king of Israel in terms of the years of a king of Judah which is in perfect accord with the data concerning the lengths of reign and with the events of contemporary history. Tiglath-pileser's statement that the people of the house of Omri deposed Pekah and that he placed Hoshea over them as king¹⁹ is of interest in this connection, but this is one of the sections of the annals which is not dated. The date, however, is of course 732, the same as that provided by the Eponym Chronicle for the campaign against Damascus and the probable date for the deposition of Pekah. It is entirely possible that, with the fall of Damascus and the death of Rezin taking place in 732, and with Assyria now making such a great display of power in the regions of the west, popular reaction in Israel may have turned against Pekah and his anti-Assyrian policy and thus have brought Hoshea to the throne, just as, only three years previous, a similar rise to power of a pro-Assyrian party in Judah may have been responsible for the retirement of Jotham from active participation in national affairs and the raising of Ahaz to the throne.

The event of outstanding importance in the reign of Hoshea was the siege and capture of Samaria by the Assyrian armies and the end

clusion that for Israel the difficulty would probably be found only in the reign of Pekah and that in Judah it was probably before the reign of Ahaz. For Amaziah he suggested a reign of perhaps only nine years instead of twenty-nine, and for Azariah and Jotham together he suggested a total of fifty-four years, the latter figure probably to include the coreign of Jotham (see D. Carl Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* [Tübingen, 1912], p. 350; cf. also J. Bensinger, *Geschichte Israels bis auf die Griechischezeit* [Berlin, 1924], p. 33). In both the above instances Steuernagel was not more than a year or two in error. In the case of Amaziah, the sole reign was only seven years, and this king lived on for twenty-two years more after Azariah had been placed on the throne, as is evidenced by the statement that Amaziah lived for fifteen years after the death of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:17). For detailed political reconstructions of this particular period see Mowinckel, *op. cit.*, pp. 182 ff.; Begrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 ff.; and "Der syrischephraimitische Krieg und seine weltpolitischen Zusammenhänge," *ZDMG*, LXXXIII (1929), 213 ff.

19. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, sec. 816.

of the Northern Kingdom. The siege of Samaria was begun by Shalmaneser V in the seventh year of Hoshea and was continued for three years, to the ninth year of Hoshea, at which time the city fell and Israel was carried captive to Assyria (II Kings 17:4-6; 18:9-11). Since Hoshea began his reign in 732/31, the seventh to the ninth years of his reign would be from 725/24 to 723/22, and this would mark the period of Samaria's final siege, with the city falling and the Northern Kingdom coming to its end in 723/22.

It will be remembered that inasmuch as the kings of Israel reckoned their years of reign from Nisan to Nisan, the fall of Samaria must have taken place at some time after Nisan in 723 and before Nisan, 722. This date for the fall of Samaria raises an interesting problem posed by the claim of Sargon II that he captured Samaria at the beginning of his rule.²⁰ Sargon came to the throne on the twelfth day of Tebeth,²¹ which was about the last of December, 722, and his first year began in Nisan, 721. The ninth and last year of Hoshea, however, according to our present pattern of Hebrew chronology, terminated in Nisan, 722, which is some nine months before Sargon came to the throne. It will be seen that if the fall of Samaria took place during the ninth year of Hoshea and if our date for that

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, sec. 4. At the beginning of this section of the annals, Luckenbill supplies the following restoration: "At the beginning of my rule, in my first year of reign." Lie, in his translation of the annals of Sargon, words this item as follows: "At the beginning of my government" (A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, Part I: *The Annals* [Paris, 1919], p. 5). The above statement, coming as it does in l. 10 of Lie's text of the recension of Hall II of Sargon's palace, immediately preceding the account of the siege and capture of Samaria, which begins in l. 11, is of considerable interest. It is not altogether clear just what Sargon has in mind by this statement, "At the beginning of my government," but it evidently is sometime before his first year, for in Olmstead's commentary on Lie's edition of the annals the section dealing with Sargon's first year does not come until l. 19. (A. T. Olmstead, "The Text of Sargon's Annals," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLVII [1931], 263). Olmstead omits l. 10, but he gives the following interesting items from ll. 15-18 regarding Sargon's claims concerning Samaria: "27,290 men who dwelt in it I carried off, fifty chariots for my royal army from among them I selected, and I caused others to take their portion[?]. That city I restored and more than before I made it great; men of the lands, conquered by my hands, in it I made to dwell. My official governor I established, and tribute and tax as upon Assyrians I placed upon them . . . with one another I mixed, and I made the price of silver to be like copper in Assyria." Then Olmstead begins l. 19 with "In my first year of reign, Humbanigash the Elamite sinned the sin, and became hostile, to make war against me he came." Thus in this translation by Olmstead the section dealing with the siege and capture of Samaria precedes the account of Sargon's first year, when the revolt of Humbanigash took place.

21. Babylonian Chronicle, 1:31.

year is correct, the city must have fallen at least nine months before Sargon began his rule. If Sargon's claim that he captured Samaria at the beginning of his reign is correct, then our date for Hoshea's last year is wrong. On the other hand, if our date for Hoshea and Samaria's fall is correct, then Sargon's claim to his capture of Samaria at the beginning of his reign must in some sense be untrue. What is the evidence?

In a well reasoned account concerning the fall of Samaria, Olmstead a number of years ago took the position that all the available evidence points to the fall of Samaria in 723, and that Sargon's claim to have captured the city was not true.²² It was pointed out that the Biblical account of the fall of Samaria makes no mention of Sargon. Shalmaneser is the king who is twice named as having taken punitive measures against Israel's recalcitrant king. In the record of II Kings 17:3-9, the account begins with the statement that "Shalmaneser king of Assyria" came up against Hoshea and that Hoshea became his servant. Then the record continues with the words that "the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea," because Hoshea no longer brought a present to "the king of Assyria," and that thereupon "the king of Assyria" besieged Samaria three years, and that in the ninth year of Hoshea "the king of Assyria took Samaria and carried Israel away into Assyria." Which king of Assyria did all this? Or was there more than one king? It was "Shalmaneser king of Assyria" who is mentioned in the opening statement of the account as the king who first came up against Hoshea and placed him under tribute. But from that point on the Assyrian king is not mentioned by name but is always referred to as "the king of Assyria." If it was Shalmaneser who first put Hoshea under tribute, who was "the king of Assyria" against whom Hoshea rebelled? Everyone will admit that that was Shalmaneser. And who was "the king of Assyria" who besieged Samaria three years? Again it is recognized that this also was Shalmaneser. But who, then, was "the king of Assyria" who in the ninth year of Hoshea captured Samaria and took its people captive to Assyria? If Shalmaneser was "the king of Assyria" in the first instance, if he was "the king of Assyria" in the second instance, and if he was likewise "the king of Assyria" in the third and the fourth instances, then who was "the king of Assyria" in the last instance? Having started the account by naming Shalmaneser as the Assyrian king, was not Shalmaneser the king who is referred to in this ac-

22. A. T. Olmstead, "The Fall of Samaria," *AJSL*, XXI (1904-5), 179-82, and *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon*, pp. 45 ff., n. 9.

count from beginning to end? Why, if a new king came into the picture somewhere along the line, is he not referred to by name? The clear implication of this Biblical account is, as Olmstead forcibly points out, that Shalmaneser is the king who is referred to all the way through. In the record of II Kings 18:9-11, the account again opens with the statement that "Shalmaneser king of Assyria" came up against Samaria and besieged it in the seventh year of Hoshea. Then comes the interesting statement that, "They took it at the end of three years" (II Kings 18:10, American Translation), in the ninth year of Hoshea, and in conclusion that "the king of Assyria" carried Israel away to Assyria. The plural "they" in verse 10 is of interest. It might refer simply to the Assyrians as the captors of Israel's capital, but, on the other hand, it might refer to Shalmaneser and someone associated with him—possibly to his brother Sargon who a year later was to succeed him on the throne. At any rate the "they" used in reference to Samaria's capture would again indicate the inclusion of Shalmaneser in this picture to the end. Comparing the relative values of the Hebrew and Assyrian accounts, Olmstead notes that the Hebrew account seems to rest on very good sources and that there exists no reason there for any distortion of fact, whereas in the Assyrian account the "personal equation" must be taken into consideration, and that the royal scribe would have every reason for carrying over into his master's reign events which took place in the final year of a predecessor.

Another item mentioned by Olmstead pointing to Samaria's capture by Shalmaneser rather than Sargon is the testimony of the Babylonian Chronicle, 1:28, where the only citation given concerning the reign of Shalmaneser is his destruction of the city of Shamara-in, which Delitzsch identified as Samaria. If this identification is correct, as it probably is, then the testimony of this independent and unbiased Babylonian authority would settle the question as to the fall of Samaria in Shalmaneser's reign.

The Eponym Chronicle at this point is not definitive, for the record here is unfortunately badly mutilated, retaining for the eponymies of Mahde, Assur-ishmeani, and Shalmaneser in the years 725, 724, and 723, merely the word "against," with the name of the site against which the campaign for each of those years was directed, completely missing. The coincidence, however, of these three years with the three years of the Hebrew account of the siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser seems to Olmstead to justify supplying "Samaria"

from the Babylonian Chronicle. Luckenbill likewise has restored "Samaria" for these three years in the Eponym Chronicle.²³

Let us notice the chronicle at this point. For 726, the eponymy of Marduk-bel-usur, the entry was, "in the land." For 722, the eponymy of Urta-ilia, there was a reference according to Luckenbill's restoration, to the foundation of the temple of Nabu having been torn up for repairs, and for 721, the eponymy of Nabu-taris, of Nabu having entered his new temple. If Sargon had accomplished such an important feat as capturing the city of Samaria in 722 and thus bringing to an end the history of the nation of Israel—a feat which he so proudly pretended to remember at the close of his reign—why did he not record that capture at the beginning of his reign? Why should not the capture of Samaria have been the event of the year 722 rather than a citation concerning the tearing up of a temple foundation? Or if it was in his first year, 721, that Samaria was taken, why was not that mentioned at least as one of the events of the year together with the entry of Nabu into his new temple? When in 720 he went against Tabala, Sargon recorded that as the event of the year. When in 718 he went against the Mannai, that was the event reported. When in 716 he went against Musasir of Haldia, again that was the event to remember. When in 715 he was in Ellipa, in 713 again went against Musasir, in 711 against Markasa, in 710 against Bet-zernaid, and in 709 took the hand of Bel in Babylon and did not hesitate to tell the world about it, why was he so very modest in 722 as to remember the tearing down of a temple of Nabu but forget the tearing down of the kingdom of Israel?

The Biblical record, moreover, tells us that Shalmaneser came against Samaria and that the siege of that city lasted three years. In the Eponym Chronicle no campaign is recorded for 726—the king was in the land. And again, in 722 no campaign was recorded; only the repair of a temple is mentioned. Only three years are left—725, 724, and 723. In 725 Shalmaneser was engaged in a campaign against some city or kingdom the name of which has been lost. Again, for 724, the event of the year was simply "against," with once more the name being lost. And for a third successive year, 723, he again went "against," with once more the name being lost. What was the name of the place or places that he went against in 725, 724, and 723? At some time during his reign he went against Samaria. And in 725, 724, 723, he went against some place or places, the names of which have

23. Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, 437.

disappeared from the record. According to our reconstructed scheme of Old Testament chronology, Shalmaneser came against Samaria in 725, 724, and 723. So if the entry for those years is to be restored in the Eponym Chronicle, what should that restoration be? We have every reason to agree with Luckenbill and Olmstead that "Samaria" is the correct restoration.

Olmstead further points out that, inasmuch as Sargon came to the throne about the close of December, his accession year would consist of only four months of the worst season of the year, January to April, the rainy season when the Assyrian armies rarely took the field, and his capture of Samaria at such an unlikely time would be very improbable.

Still another point of importance is that Sargon's claim to have been responsible for the fall of Samaria is entirely absent from the records which come from his early years, and that this claim to Samaria's capture is found only in the Khorsabad texts coming from his fifteenth and sixteenth years. Here in the final series of documents coming from the closing years of his reign, the capture of Samaria "at the beginning" of Sargon's rule is featured in great prominence for all posterity to remember. Thus it was on the Annals appearing on the wall slabs of three of the halls of his newly constructed palace at Khorsabad.²⁴ Thus also it was on the so-called Display Inscription (German, *Prunkinschrift*) found on the walls of rooms IV, VII, VIII, and X of the palace of Khorsabad,²⁵ giving a review of the events from Sargon's accession to his fifteenth year. Once more this was the case on the Display Inscription of room XIV, where again Sargon claims to have plundered the city of Samirina (Samaria) and the whole land of Israel.²⁶ Yet again, on the Bull Inscription where he recounts the building of his famous palace at Dur Sharrukin he claims Samaria's overthrow.²⁷ And finally, on the Pavement Inscriptions carved at the base of the palace gates, Sargon in a résumé of the accomplishments of his reign vaunts himself as the conqueror of Samaria and of the whole land of Bit-Humria.²⁸ If it was indeed a fact that Sargon had captured the city of Samaria at the beginning of his rule, then the question may well be asked why it took him so long to remember this fact. Why, if he captured Samaria so early in

24. *Ibid.*, sec. 4.

25. *Ibid.*, sec. 55.

26. *Ibid.*, sec. 80.

27. *Ibid.*, sec. 92.

28. *Ibid.*, sec. 99.

his reign, did he not tell of that capture in documents appearing from an earlier year?²⁹

To summarize, Olmstead declares that for the capture of Samaria by Sargon we have only his own claim, made in a late series of documents which have often been proved incorrect, while against this is the silence of Sargon's own earlier accounts and the direct ascription of the capture to Shalmaneser by two separate, independent, unprejudiced authorities—the Hebrew and the Babylonian—while a third, a native Assyrian account, presents data which would fit well into the Hebrew scheme. For the above reasons Olmstead argues for Samaria's capture by Shalmaneser rather than Sargon, and places its capture in the year 723,³⁰ shortly before Sargon came to the throne.

According to the Biblical record, the fall of Samaria took place in the ninth and last year of Hoshea's reign (II Kings 17:6; 18:10). It has been previously pointed out that Assyrian evidence almost positively gives 732/31 as the year when Hoshea began to reign, which would make 723/22 his ninth year. According to this evidence, the fall of Samaria must have taken place some time before Nisan, 722, which is some nine months before Sargon came to the throne on the twelfth of Tebet, 722. If, then, the Assyrian chronological material which points to 732/31 as the beginning of Hoshea's reign is sound, and if the Biblical statements are correct which place the fall of Samaria in Hoshea's ninth and last year, then Sargon's claim can not be true that he captured Samaria at the beginning of his reign.

It should, however, in all fairness to Sargon and his famous inscriptions, be pointed out that the possibility exists that Sargon was present when Samaria fell and that he was even responsible for its fall, but as general rather than king. Sargon II was the brother of Shalmaneser V and he may have been intrusted by him with the command of the armies at the important siege of Samaria. But the vital point is not, was he present, but, was he king? If the capture of Samaria is to be thought of from the personal rather than the temporal standpoint, Sargon's claims in his annals might well be true. But that would not make true the claim that he captured Samaria at the beginning of his reign.

29. The only reference to Samaria that the writer is acquainted with on any document prior to the Khorsabad texts is Sargon's reference on the Assur Charter to his gathering together the people of Arpad and Samaria and bringing them to his side (see Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, sec. 134).

30. A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), p. 205.

A survey of all the available evidence makes it clear that, in spite of the pretentious claims of Sargon, Samaria was not captured by him while he was king, but that the city fell while Shalmaneser V was still upon the throne. After the city's fall, Sargon certainly had further contacts with Samaria, such as the suppression of efforts at revolt which took place in his second year,³¹ and the placing of Arab captives there in his seventh year.³²

The two synchronisms of II Kings 18:9, 10, dating the siege of Samaria to the fourth and sixth years of Hezekiah, still remain to be considered. Our years for this siege are 725/24 to 723/22, while our dates for the fourth and sixth years of Hezekiah are 712/11 and 710/9. These synchronisms have long been a matter of grave perplexity. If the evidence of the Assyrian records is true that Sennacherib came against Hezekiah in 701, and if the synchronisms of II Kings 18:13 and Isa. 36:1 are true that it was during the fourteenth year of Hezekiah that Sennacherib came against Jerusalem, then 715 must be the year when Hezekiah began to reign. That is exactly the date, 716/15, that we secured in our reconstruction of the chronology of the kings. If we know that 712/11 and 710/9 are the correct fourth and sixth years of Hezekiah, and if we also know that 725/24 to 723/22 are the correct years for Samaria's siege, then what are we going to do about these synchronisms of II Kings 18:9, 10? Before we answer the question let us observe certain aspects of the situation.

According to the synchronisms of II Kings 18:9, 10, the siege of Samaria took place while Hezekiah was king. According to the chronological scheme we have here presented, it took place before Hezekiah was king. In such a case there would have been no contacts between Hezekiah and Hoshea, and Hezekiah when he first began to rule had the sad spectacle before him of the northern nation in ruins—its capital destroyed, many of its people carried captive to Assyria, and no king ruling over the land. If this were indeed the situation, it appears that the records from his time should reveal that fact, or if Hezekiah and Hoshea were ruling side by side, that is the picture the records should portray. What is the evidence of the Biblical account?

First, let it be noted that the Old Testament is strangely silent as concerns any contacts between these two kings. This is unusual, for all through the records of the divided kingdoms we find constant references to the contacts between the contemporaneous kings of

31. Lie, *op. cit.*, p. 7; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, sec. 55.

32. Lie, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, sec. 17.

Judah and Israel. Let us go through the list of kings of Judah thus far and notice the evidence in this regard. First of all Rehoboam is said to have been at war with his contemporary Jeroboam all his days (I Kings 14:30). Abijam, the next king, publicly upbraided his contemporary Jeroboam and engaged in a great war with him (I Kings 15:6; II Chron. 13:3-20). Judah's third king, Asa, again engaged in war with his contemporary Baasha of Israel (I Kings 15:16-22; II Chron. 16:1-6). Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa, was friendly with Ahab and accompanied him in a battle against Syria (I Kings 22:2-37; II Chron. 18:1-34). Jehoram, the son and successor of Jehoshaphat, took to himself as wife, Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 21:6). The next king, Ahaziah, went with Joram of Israel against Hazael of Syria and visited Joram in Jezreel (II Kings 8:28, 29; II Chron. 22:5, 6), and then was slain with Joram by Jehu (II Kings 9:27; II Chron. 22:7-9). Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel (II Kings 8:18, 26; II Chron. 22:2), after her son Ahaziah had been killed by Jehu, destroyed the seed royal and took to herself the throne of Judah at the same time that Jehu seized the throne in Israel (II Kings 9:27; 11:1-3). Concerning the following king, Joash, no specific mention of any direct contact is made. Amaziah, the son of Joash, hired an army from Israel (II Chron. 25:6-10), and later rashly challenged Jehoash to war and was disastrously defeated (II Kings 14:8-14; II Chron. 25:17-24). Azariah, the next ruler, is the only other king of Judah till Hezekiah and his successors concerning whom no mention is made of some contact with Israel. At the time of Jotham, Pekah came against Judah (II Kings 15:37), and in the days of Ahaz, Pekah again associated with Rezin in war against Judah (II Kings 16:5; II Chron. 28:6; Isa. 7:1-7). When we come to Ahaz's son, Hezekiah, however, there is no reference anywhere in the record of a contact with Hoshea. Such an argument from silence does not alone prove that Israel as a nation was then no longer in existence, for, although the general rule is an account of some contact, we have had two previous kings concerning whom no record of a contact has been preserved. However, if some specific contact between Hezekiah and Hoshea had been mentioned, we would at least be in possession of that definite evidence that these two kings were contemporaneous. But no such evidence exists.

Our next step is to examine the record to see what light can be thrown upon conditions then prevailing in the territory to the north. When Hezekiah first came to the throne, one of his first acts was, in

the first month of the first year, to open and repair the temple (II Chron. 29:3, 17), and to proclaim a solemn passover which was observed the fourteenth day of the second month (II Chron. 30:2, 13, 15). Verse 1 of chapter xxx begins with a *waw* conversive, which usually indicates a continuation of the previous narrative. Verse 3 gives as the reason for holding the passover in the second month rather than the first (as was the usual custom), the fact that the priests had not sanctified themselves sufficiently (which clearly refers back to 29:34), and the people had not yet gathered to Jerusalem. The main work of cleansing the temple occupied the first eight days of the first month, and the cleansing was not completed until the sixteenth day of the first month (II Chron. 29:17); hence to hold the passover in the first month would have been out of the question.

An interesting item concerning the invitations that were sent to attend this passover was that they were sent not only to places in Judah but also in Israel—to Ephraim and Manasseh and even to Zebulun (II Chron. 30:1, 6, 10), territory that once had been the domain of the Northern Kingdom but was now open to the envoys of Judah. When Joash repaired the temple during the period of the divided kingdom, there is no record of invitations having been sent to Israel, but only to Judah and Jerusalem (II Chron. 24:5, 9). While the Northern Kingdom was still in existence, it would of course not have been possible for the envoys of Judah to pass through the territory of Israel, so we have here a clear indication that that nation was no longer in existence.³³ Hezekiah sent forth his decree all the way from Beersheba to Dan (II Chron. 30:5), the latter being the northern limit of the undivided kingdom of David and Solomon (I Chron. 21:2). At the time when the Northern Kingdom was still in existence, Jehoshaphat extended his reforms only from Beersheba to Mount Ephraim (II Chron. 19:4).

Hezekiah's admonitions were expressly addressed to a nation that was in deep distress and desolation and whose people had already gone into captivity, for the ones who would now receive his letters

33. Scholars have long noticed the inconsistencies involved in the attempt to apply the narrative of Hezekiah's first passover to a period when the Northern Kingdom was still in existence (see Otto Zöckler, *The Books of the Chronicles, Theologically and Homiletically Expounded*, Vol. VII of *A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical*, ed. John Peter Lange [New York, 1877], p. 259; Edward Lewis Curtis and Albert Alonzo Madsen, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles* ["International Critical Commentary" (New York, 1910)], p. 471; Karl Friedrich Keil, *Commentary on the Books of Kings*, trans. James Murphy [Edinburgh, 1857], II, 79 ff., n. 1).

were spoken of as those who had escaped out of the hands of the kings of Assyria (II Chron. 30:6). Their land was in desolation (II Chron. 30:7). If they now turned to the Lord and came to the sanctuary at Jerusalem, their brethren might obtain mercy from the ones who had taken them captive (II Chron. 30:8, 9).

Although these invitations were largely spurned, there was a considerable response from Asher, Manasseh, Ephraim, Issachar, and Zebulun (II Chron. 30:11, 18). No such passover had been observed in Jerusalem since the days of Solomon (II Chron. 30:26), when the nation was still undivided and the people from all the land, north as well as south, were wont to come to Jerusalem to worship. When the passover was over, the people went forth to break down the images, cut down the groves, and throw down the altars not only in Judah and Benjamin but also in Ephraim and Manasseh, and they did not cease "until they had utterly destroyed them all" (II Chron. 31:1).

The above description is such as can apply to only one time and one condition—a time when there was no longer a tight political separation between Israel and Judah, a time when there was no longer a king in the north who would keep out unwanted intruders from the south, a time when the Northern Kingdom was no longer in existence. Such things could not have happened while Israel remained a sovereign state. No king of Israel would have permitted envoys from his rivals to the south to march through his land inviting his subjects to attend a general festival at the rival capital. Particularly, Israel's last king was not of the type to have tolerated such a procedure and then to have watched an iconoclastic crowd from the south smashing all places of worship so far out of harmony with Jerusalem but so much in accord with Bethel and Dan, throughout the borders of his kingdom. When the northern nation fell, the reason given is that it had gone over to idolatry (II Kings 17:6-23). But such a statement would be decidedly out of place if at this time such striking evidence of religious reform and pietistic zeal had manifested itself with the full consent of the king. There was a time when such things could not be and that time continued as long as Hoshea was still upon his throne. Once gone, the borders were open and the atmosphere again was free, and the holy zeal of Jerusalem and its temple could make its influence felt throughout the length and breadth of the land. No more striking testimony could be desired that the kingdom of Israel had already come to its end at the time of the celebration of the first

passover of Hezekiah in the first year of his reign than is found in II Chronicles 30:1-31:1.

Yet again, what was the foreign policy of the king of Judah at the time that the armies of Assyria were so very close, besieging Samaria and bringing to an end all western resistance to the Assyrian king? We know well the pro-Assyrian policy of Ahaz and we are also acquainted with the anti-Assyrian policy of Hezekiah. What was the policy displayed, and who was the king upon the throne when all the might of Assyria was so near? With Ahaz and Urijah the priest (II Kings 16:10-16), there would have been concilience, with Hezekiah there would have been resistance, and with the forces of Assur already in the heart of the land, measures would have been taken which would have left their mark upon the record, Biblical as well as secular, before the time of Sennacherib and his third campaign. In fact, Whitehouse offers the suggestion that the year 715, assigned by Kamphausen to the death of Ahaz, is supported by the consideration that it affords a clue to the foreign policy of Judah during the Assyrian siege of Samaria—a policy which could hardly have been anything else than one of friendly neutrality toward Assyria—and that such a policy at such a time would have been in keeping with the policy of Ahaz; and, further, that when Hezekiah, however, took the throne, the policy of Isaiah involving resistance to the encroachments of Assyrian power became ascendant.³⁴

In this chapter we have called attention to the numerous evidences concerning difficulties in the chronological pattern of this time—that while one portion is correct, another portion is some twelve years too long. Back of such a mysterious series of consistent inconsistencies there must be a reason, one main error responsible for the introduction of a series of errors. Our task is to find that error. If it can be found, it will mean much in our present inquiry, and also much in the estimate we are likely to place upon the value of this whole series of chronological data so bristling with difficulties. If there is material here of value to the historian as well as to the theologian, that fact should be clearly understood so that full use of these values might be made. We shall deal with this subject in chapter vii.

We have already discussed the two synchronisms of Hoshea's accession, that of II Kings 15:30 calling for the beginning of his reign in Jotham's twentieth year, and that of II Kings 17:1, calling for his accession in Ahaz's twelfth year, and we have noticed that if we do away with the twelve-year overlap between these two kings pro-

34. Schrader, *op. cit.*, Notes and Addenda by Whitehouse, II, 322.

vided by these dual synchronisms—moving back the reign of Jotham so that his twentieth year will synchronize with the beginning of the sixteen years of Ahaz, and then proceeding with the construction of the rest of our chronological scheme on the basis thus provided—we secure a pattern of Hebrew history which has every earmark of being sound.

The facts concerning the correct pattern are these: In the year 751/50 Jotham was called to the throne to take active control of the affairs of Judah in place of his father Azariah who was ill with leprosy. Azariah lived on till 740/39 when Jotham became sole ruler. The death of Jotham did not take place till 732/31, in the twentieth year of his reign (cf. II Kings 15:30). However, four years before that time, in 736/35, Ahaz the son of Jotham was called to the throne to take active charge of affairs. This would give Jotham a reign of sixteen years before Ahaz assumed control (II Kings 15:33; II Chron. 27:1, 8). From 736/35 to 732/31 Ahaz was the real ruler of the land, being the king mentioned in the crisis that arose from the attack on Judah by Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel and in the resultant involvements of 734 to 732 when Tiglath-pileser responded to Ahaz's gold-assisted plea for aid (II Kings 16:5-9; II Chron. 28:5-21; Isa. 7:1-16; 8:1-4). In 732/31 Jotham, in his twentieth year, passed from the scene and Ahaz ruled alone sixteen years (II Kings 16:2; II Chron. 28:1), till 716/15, when he was succeeded by his son Hezekiah (II Kings 16:20; II Chron. 28:27).

In Israel, in the meantime, Pekah in 740/39, the fifty-second and last year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27; II Kings 15:2; II Chron. 26:3), usurped the throne from Pekahiah and ruled till 732/31, when he in turn was overthrown by Hoshea (II Kings 15:30). However, Pekah not only usurped the throne from the house of Menahem, father of Pekahiah, but he also usurped all the years of the house of Menahem, beginning to reckon his years not from 740/39, when he actually began to reign, but from 752/51, when Menahem overthrew the usurper Shallum. Thus, Pekah reckoned his reign as twenty years (II Kings 15:27), from 752/51 to 732/31, although he actually ruled only eight years after taking the throne from Pekahiah, son of Menahem—from 740/39 to 732/31. Pekah, having usurped these years, was recognized by the scribes of Judah in this usurpation, for when the time came for them to ascribe synchronisms for the accession of their own rulers, the synchronisms were expressed not in terms of Pekah's years of reign as beginning in 740/39 with his overthrow of Pekahiah, but from 752/51, from which year he decided to reckon his

reign. When Jotham came to the throne in 751/50 as coregent with his father, the synchronism is given in terms of these usurped years of Pekah's reign, the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32), 751/50. If this synchronism had actually been recorded at the time of Jotham's accession it would of course not have been recorded thus, for Menahem was currently on Israel's throne, and the synchronism would have been given as the second year of Menahem and not the second year of Pekah. Had that been done many a student of Old Testament history would have been spared many a weary hour puzzling over this strangely involved problem. It is an interesting question as to just when this synchronism was first introduced. Certainly it could not have been long after Pekah had completed his reign, for the scribe who recorded it was in possession of sufficient information to have known exactly what took place and when.

When Ahaz came to the throne in 736/35, his synchronism is once more expressed in terms of the years of Pekah's usurped reign, his seventeenth year (II Kings 16:1). This synchronism is one of the most baffling among the many difficult synchronisms of the Hebrew kings, but once the facts are understood as to what took place, its meaning becomes perfectly clear. This synchronism is of more than ordinary importance, for it definitely establishes the beginning of Ahaz's reign in 736/35. If it were not for this synchronism there might be some question as to when Ahaz actually began to rule, for if he came to the throne in 736/35 and terminated his reign in 716/15 he would have ruled twenty and not sixteen years, which is the figure given for his reign (II Kings 16:2; II Chron. 28:1). The sixteen years are, as we have already mentioned, reckoned not from the time when Ahaz first began to rule in 736/35 but from 732/31, the interesting "twentieth" year of Jotham—four years after the expiration of the period of sixteen years ascribed to him (II Kings 15:35; II Chron. 27:1, 8). A beginning of Ahaz's reign in 736/35 rather than 732/31 is positively required by his contacts with Pekah, Rezin, and Tiglath-pileser in 734–732, as previously mentioned, and also by his age relationship to his son Hezekiah.

Pekah terminated his reign in 732/31, after an accredited reign of twenty years. Again let us keep in mind that there is every indication that this date, 732/31, is the correct year for the death of Pekah and the beginning of the reign of Hoshea. Many of the world's leading Old Testament scholars have at this point abandoned all hope of securing the correct dates for Pekah and Hoshea from Biblical sources, and forsaking those sources, have turned to the Assyrian

records for aid. So clear was the testimony of the Assyrian inscriptions that it was in 732 when the events took place that deprived Pekah of his throne and gave the kingship to Hoshea that, on the basis of this evidence, 732 was the date generally assigned to the death of Pekah and the beginning of the reign of Hoshea. Hoshea reigned nine years (II Kings 17:1), when Samaria fell after a three-year siege, and with it came the end of the Northern Kingdom. The evidence concerning the time of this siege has already been discussed, 725/24 to 723/22.

The synchronism of Hoshea's accession in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30), now brings us back to this very interesting and important date of 732/31 from which we started on our recent experimental quest. Let us again notice just what we did and why. In our first approach to the chronology of Israel and Judah for this period, we arrived at a point where it was clear that the dates we were using were some twelve years too long. In view of the evidence pointing to the beginning of the reign of Jotham at some time before 740/39, when his father died—evidence which had been neglected in the pattern beginning the reign of Jotham in 740/39 and terminating it in 720/19—that reign was moved back twelve years, supplying the key date 732/31 as the twentieth and terminal year of Jotham, and, on the basis of the synchronism of II Kings 15:30, as also the accession year of Hoshea and the terminal year of Pekah. We found every indication that that date was sound. Having started from 732/31 on an experimental basis, we have now returned to it on a proven basis. There is every reason to believe that that date is correct and that the chronological structure built thereon will stand. And if that date is accurate, it remains only to clear up the mystery as to what strange cause it was that led to the introduction of the confused portion of the chronological pattern of this period. With that question we shall deal in the chapter to follow.

Chapter Seven

PATTERN TWELVE-THIRTEEN

IN OUR study of the reigns of the Hebrew kings from 740/39 to 716/15, we noticed evidence of a mysterious chronological pattern in which certain dates for both Judah and Israel were some twelve years too low, and that the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10 were in the nature of a problem calling for further consideration. It is this problem which we shall here consider.

When the reign of Jotham was begun with 740/39, bringing his twentieth year in 720/19, it was noticed that the synchronisms for Hoshea's accession found in II Kings 15:30 and 17:1 provided dates for both Jotham and Hoshea which were some twelve years too low, and that when the twenty years of Pekah (II Kings 15:27) were reckoned as beginning in 740/39, the termination of his reign was likewise twelve years beyond his time. It was further noticed that the synchronisms of II Kings 18:1, 9, 10, placed the reign of Hoshea and the siege of Samaria some twelve years beyond the events of contemporary history. The difficulty we are here facing which places the reigns of Jotham in Judah and Pekah and Hoshea in Israel, together with the siege of Samaria some twelve years beyond their time, must constitute a single problem having a common basic cause. Our present task is to determine what that might be.

The correct date for the beginning of Jotham's reign has already been found to be 751/50, not 740/39, the year when Azariah died. And the correct date for the beginning of Pekah's twenty years has likewise been ascertained to be 752/51, not 740/39, the year when the assassination of Pekahiah took place. When the first year of Jotham's coregency is reckoned from 751/50, his twentieth year will be 732/31, and this will also be the correct year for the beginning of Ahaz's reign of sixteen years (II Kings 16:2, II Chron. 28:1), and for the synchronism of Hoshea's accession as found in II Kings 15:30. When Pekah's twenty years (II Kings 15:27) are reckoned from 752/51, his last year and the year of Hoshea's accession will likewise be correctly dated in 732/31.

The year 740/39 has already been established as the terminal year for the reigns of Azariah in Judah and Pekahiah in Israel, and that

would be the natural year from which to begin reckoning the reigns of Jotham in Judah and Pekah in Israel. When that is done, however, we have seen what the results will be; namely, 720/19 as the twentieth and terminal year of both Jotham in Judah and Pekah in Israel, and consequently 720/19 as also the year of Hoshea's accession. But 720/19, as already noted, is the twelfth year of Ahaz's reign, reckoning that reign from 732/31, the correct twentieth and final year of Jotham, and thus we have 716/15 as Ahaz's sixteenth year and the year of Hezekiah's accession. On the above basis, reckoning the accession of Hoshea as having taken place at some time between Nisan and Tishri, 719, the following synchronisms result:

Accession of Hoshea = 12th year of Ahaz	719
3d year of Hoshea = accession year of Hezekiah	716/15
7th year of Hoshea = 4th year of Hezekiah	712/11
9th year of Hoshea = 6th year of Hezekiah	710/9

These four synchronisms, it will be observed, are the synchronisms found in II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10—the synchronisms which we noticed were responsible for the mysterious chronological pattern which placed a number of events in the history of Judah and Israel some twelve years beyond their time. The cause is obvious; namely, a synchronizing of certain events in the reign of Hoshea, which, for the above mentioned reasons, had been pushed forward from its correct date, 732/31, to the year 719, with certain events in the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah, which had been allowed to remain in their correct chronological positions.

It is clear that such synchronisms were not the product of an official court recorder living contemporaneously with the kings involved, but that they must have come from a much later period when the exact historical details of the period of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah in Judah and Pekah and Hoshea in Israel were forgotten. At such a time some individual who failed to understand just how Pekah had computed his reign and who was under the impression that the twenty years recorded for him began with the death of Pekahiah in 740/39, reckoned the death of Pekah as having taken place in 720/19. What he failed to understand was that Pekah had an actual reign in his own right of only eight years, from 740/39 when he took the throne from Pekahiah, to his own assassination at the hands of Hoshea, in 732/31. Failing to perceive this, however, he secured the date 720/19 for Hoshea's accession, some twelve years after the correct date. The year 720/19 was known to be the twelfth year of Ahaz, and thus Hoshea's accession was synchronized with

Ahaz's twelfth year and was recorded as we now find it in II Kings 17: 1. It will be noticed that this is a second synchronism for Hoshea's accession, the first and original synchronism for the beginning of Hoshea's reign which correctly synchronizes that event with the twentieth year of Jotham, being found in II Kings 15:30. This latter synchronism no doubt came from the hand of an official recorder contemporaneous with Hoshea. That of II Kings 17:1 is unquestionably the product of some late editor or copyist.

Official records still available at a late period further provided the information that 716/15 was the sixteenth and last year of Ahaz and the year of Hezekiah's accession. Having come to the conclusion that 720/19 was the year of Hoshea's accession, Hezekiah's accession was by this same late hand synchronized with the third year of Hoshea and so also Hezekiah's fourth year was synchronized with Hoshea's seventh year as marking the beginning of the siege of Samaria, and Hezekiah's sixth year with Hoshea's ninth year as marking Samaria's fall. These synchronisms we now find in II Kings 17: 1 and 18: 1, 9, 10.

It is clear that all this was a matter of late calculation rather than of contemporaneous recording, and that it was the work of some individual who lived many years after these events took place—long after the Northern Kingdom had come to its end and at a time when all memory as to the exact relationships between Israel and Judah at the important period when the Northern Kingdom was approaching its end had been lost.

Let us review in brief the steps which resulted in these synchronisms of II Kings 17: 1 and 18: 1, 9, 10. Accepting 740/39,¹ the year in which Azariah died, as the year in which Jotham began his reign of twenty years, an editor or copyist of some late day secured the date 720/19 as the year when Jotham died. And having before him

1. When we use the term 740/39 for Azariah of Judah, we have in mind a regnal year beginning with Tishri, 740, to Tishri, 739. And when we use the term 740/39 for the corresponding year of Pekah in Israel, we have in mind a regnal year of Nisan, 740, to Nisan, 739. But for those same years this late scribe, while employing for Judah a regnal year of Tishri, 740, to Tishri, 739, employed a regnal year for Israel of Nisan, 739, to Nisan, 738. We cannot here go into the technicalities of why such a method was employed, but it was a variation from the system used by contemporary Hebrew scribes, and its use is of itself evidence of its being the product of a late hand. Just how this worked out will be seen on the chart of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen at p. 75. For us to follow his system and to use the term 739/38 for Pekah as standing for the corresponding year 740/39 for Jotham would only introduce confusion. In the interests of clarity, we will adhere to our own system of dates when referring to any particular years of the Hebrew kings that this scribe may have had in mind. A fuller presentation of the technicalities involved will appear later in this chapter.

the synchronism of II Kings 15:27, that Pekah began his reign in the fifty-second year of Azariah, he reckoned twenty years for Pekah beginning in 740/39 and terminating in 720/19. Information in his possession showed that 720/19 was the twelfth year of Ahaz, and he thereupon synchronized Hoshea's accession with Ahaz's twelfth year. He also knew that Ahaz ruled sixteen years and that his reign terminated in 716/15, and that that was the year of Hezekiah's accession. So Hezekiah's accession was synchronized with the third year of Hoshea. According to this same pattern, the fourth and sixth years of Hezekiah were synchronized with the seventh and ninth years of Hoshea. All these synchronisms having been thus calculated, they were placed in the record following the final original synchronism, that of II Kings 16:1.

It will be apparent that there must have been some unusual features in the reigns of that period to make these errors possible. Some of these items have been briefly mentioned, and we will now examine them in fuller detail.

When the reigns of this period are examined, it will be found that there exists a rather striking parallelism between the years of the kings of Judah and Israel for the period under review. The year 740/39 is a pivotal date in this unique situation. In Judah, Jotham had twelve official years of reign before 740/39 and eight years thereafter. In Israel Pekah had twelve sequestered years before 740/39 and ruled eight years thereafter. In Judah Jotham had twenty years ending in 732/31. In Israel Pekah likewise had twenty years ending in 732/31. In Judah the twelve years of Jotham before 740/39 were years in which he was ruling conjointly with his father. In Israel the twelve years of Pekah before 740/39 were years in which he was not ruling at all—just yearning for rule it seems, since later he appropriated those years of the house of Menahem and applied them to the house of Pekah. In Judah Jotham began his sole reign in 740/39, and in Israel that was likewise true of Pekah.

In Israel Pekah began his twelve years before 740/39 in 752/51. In Judah Jotham began his twelve years before 740/39 in 751/50, thus making it possible for Jotham to begin his reign in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32), and yet for each of these kings to have his twelfth year in 740/39.

It was in 740/39 that Azariah died in Judah and Pekahiah in Israel. Thus, in both Judah and Israel, Jotham and Pekah began to rule in their own right in the twelfth year of their reigns. Jotham had a sole reign of only four years, from 740/39 to 736/35, when he was

deposed in a coup by Ahaz in the seventeenth year of Pekah's reign (II Kings 16:1). But he continued to live on in retirement for four years more, until 732/31, the "twentieth year" of his reign (II Kings 15:30). Pekah likewise continued on to 732/31 when he was displaced by Hoshea (II Kings 15:30). Thus both Jotham and Pekah had reigns of twenty years, each terminating in 732/31. Jotham's reign was officially recorded as sixteen years (II Kings 15:33), counting merely the years from the beginning of his coregency to the time when he was deposed by Ahaz. If only the years of Jotham's sole reign are counted, it would be four years. If his reign were reckoned from the beginning of his sole reign to his death, it would be eight years. If it were reckoned from the beginning of his coregency to the time he was replaced by Ahaz, it would be sixteen years. Or if it were reckoned from the beginning of his coregency to his death, it would be twenty years. In Israel, although the official length of Pekah's reign is given as twenty years (II Kings 15:27), it might also have been given as eight years—from the time he supplanted Pekahiah to the time he was supplanted by Hoshea.

Let us notice another phase of this interesting situation. Jotham's reign according to the record is sixteen years (II Kings 15:33; II Chron. 27:1, 8). Ahaz's reign is also, according to the record, sixteen years (II Kings 16:1; II Chron. 28:1). The total of two sixteen-year reigns is thirty-two years. Jotham began to reign in 751/50. Ahaz terminated his reign in 716/15. From 751/50 to 716/15 is thirty-five years. But how can thirty-two be made to equal thirty-five? Quite impossible! But let us notice the situation a bit more closely. While Jotham had an official reign of sixteen years (II Kings 15:33; II Chron. 27:1, 8), we have a synchronism from his twentieth year (II Kings 15:30), thus indicating that his reign could in one way be regarded as sixteen years and in another way as twenty years. The same is true with Ahaz, for although the official length of his reign is given as sixteen years (II Kings 16:2; II Chron. 28:1), the synchronism of II Kings 16:1 gives the seventeenth year of Pekah as the year of his accession, and that year would synchronize with the sixteenth and not the twentieth year of Jotham, thus giving Ahaz four years of rule, from the sixteenth to the twentieth years of Jotham, in addition to the sixteen years in his own right after Jotham's death. Thus, we find that Ahaz actually began to reign four years before the beginning of his sixteen-year reign and that Jotham actually died four years after the end of his sixteen-year reign.

The evidence for this very odd arrangement of reigns is discovered in the Biblical record by a careful examination of all the facts, and the confirmation of these facts is found in the Assyrian inscriptions. Attention has already been called to the fact that Ahaz must have been at the helm of affairs in Judah as early as 735 or 734, for it is then that his three years of crisis with Pekah and Rezin and involving Tiglath-pileser III and the Assyrian campaigns of 734 against Philistia and of 733 and 732 against Damascus took place. It was in 732 that Pekah was overthrown and that Hoshea took the throne, in Jotham's twentieth year (II Kings 15:30). The evidence from the fall of Samaria in 723/22 together with the length of nine years for Hoshea's reign (II Kings 17:1) once more confirms the year 732/31 for Hoshea's accession. That the sixteen-year reign of Ahaz began in 732/31 is also confirmed by the fact that it terminated in 716/15, the fourteenth year (II Kings 18:13) before Sennacherib's attack on Jerusalem in 701.

A more unusual combination of almost incredible actualities would be difficult to imagine and a more baffling problem for some later historian would be difficult to find. It is a situation which sounds more like a chronologist's nightmare than a historical reality, but such we have every reason to believe that it was. The very unusual combination of striking parallels makes possible the introduction of error with an almost indubitable appearance of truth.

Let us notice the nature of the synchronisms given and how they add to the difficulties involved. In the case of Pekah, the synchronism given for his accession is the fifty-second year of Azariah (II Kings 15:27), 740/39. Since the length of Pekah's reign is given as twenty years, it would be natural to conclude that the synchronism of II Kings 15:27 involves the beginning of that twenty years, but we have noticed that this is not the case. So we find that 752/51 is the beginning of Pekah's twenty years, and that 740/39 is the synchronism of his actual accession to the throne.

But what is the situation in Judah? Since Azariah died and was succeeded by Jotham in 740/39, and since Pekah's accession was synchronized with the final year of Azariah, it would be only natural to conclude that Jotham's accession would also be synchronized with the year 740/39. But here we find that the synchronism is for the beginning of Jotham's coregency in 751/50, not for his sole reign in 740/39. What makes the problem so difficult is the fact that Jotham's accession in 751/50 is expressed not in terms of the years of Menahem who was then upon the throne, but in terms of

the years of Pekah who at that time had not yet begun to reign—years which later were to be sequestered by Pekah from the then reigning monarch.

In view of the fact that Pekah's accession is synchronized with the year 740/39 in which Azariah died, and that Jotham's accession is synchronized in terms of the reign of Pekah who did not actually begin to rule till 740/39, it would be only natural to conclude that the twenty years of Pekah began in 740/39 and that the same was true of Jotham. So for anyone of a later period who was unaware of exactly what had taken place, it would only be natural to conclude that 720/19 was the terminal year for both Jotham and Pekah. It is thus that the evidence of the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 and of the length of Pekah's reign as given in II Kings 15:27 might lead to the conclusion that 720/19 was the year of Hoshea's accession and thus give rise to the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10. Only by a most careful study of all the facts in the case is it possible to ascertain the true situation.

It will be obvious that in view of the striking parallelisms of the reigns of Jotham and Pekah involving twelve years before and eight years after 740/39, it would be possible to thrust both of these reigns ahead a period of twelve years, causing them to terminate in 720/19 instead of 732/31, and yet have them stand in the correct relationship to each other although not in accord with the facts of contemporary history. Thus, if the internal evidence alone is examined, the synchronism of Hoshea's accession in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30) would apply equally well to the incorrect date of 720/19 as to the correct date of 732/31. Only a comparison with the events of contemporary history would demonstrate the existence of error in this part of the chronological pattern.

If the above are not sufficient grounds for confusion, more may be found in the very unusual arrangement of the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz, with Jotham being displaced at the end of sixteen years in a coup which placed Ahaz upon the throne, but with Jotham living on for four years more, and with the official length of Ahaz's reign being expressed in terms of the sixteen years that he ruled after the death of Jotham but with the synchronism of his accession being given in terms of the year when he displaced his father and first took the throne. The evidence of what actually took place in this instance is found in the Biblical synchronisms of II Kings 15:30 and 16:1.

We have called attention to the fact that the very unusual combination of parallels in timing and arrangement of the reigns of Jotham

and Pekah makes possible a most interesting transposition of these reigns from their correct positions to points twelve years in error while allowing of an incorrect application of the correct data to the new conditions under an exceedingly deceptive appearance of truth. However, there were sufficient differences to make the transposition capable of detection. This is possible since it is only under the original position that all the correct data would correctly apply, whereas in the erroneous position only part of the correct data would merely seem to apply while other of the correct data could no longer be made to apply. No matter how right wrong may appear to be, it still is wrong, and in the final analysis it may be detected as such. The facts are always against it. Let us notice some of these facts.

The accession of Jotham took place in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32). If Pekah began his reign in 740/39, his second year was 738/37. And if that is when Jotham came to the throne, his father having died in 740/39, there was a gap of one or two years between the death of Azariah and the accession of Jotham. So if the reckoning of Pekah's reign began with 740/39, the synchronism of II Kings 15:32 is wrong.

According to II Kings 16:1, Ahaz came to the throne in the seventeenth year of Pekah. The seventeenth year of Pekah according to the late pattern was 723/22. It will be recalled that the accession of Ahaz to which this synchronism on the original pattern applied was not the accession of Ahaz at the termination of Jotham's twenty years and the beginning of his own sixteen years, but his accession at the termination of Jotham's sixteen years and the beginning of his own actual twenty years of reign. That year was 736/35, not 732/31. According to the late pattern, the synchronism of II Kings 16:1 was thirteen years in error. So again, if this pattern is right, II Kings 16:1 is wrong.

Continuing, we notice that whereas Jotham came to the throne in the second year of Pekah (II Kings 15:32), 750, Ahaz began to rule in Pekah's seventeenth year (II Kings 16:1), 735. This makes fifteen years, both according to the synchronisms and the absolute dates for Jotham's reign, although according to II Kings 15:33 and II Chron. 17:1, 8 he ruled sixteen years. How shall we account for this seeming discrepancy? The use of the nonaccession-year system cannot be resorted to as a possible explanation because both Israel and Judah were now using the accession-year system. The answer is that according to the original plan the data here given for Jotham cover a period of coregency with his father, the initial year of which was

reckoned as his first year and not as his accession year, thus giving him a reign of sixteen official years in fifteen actual years. But according to the late pattern we have been discussing, a reign of Jotham beginning in 740/39, the year when his father died, would be a sole reign in which no coregency was involved. In such a reign, sixteen official years would be sixteen actual years. So again, in this late plan either one of the synchronisms of II Kings 15:32 or II Kings 16:1 is wrong, or II Kings 15:33 and II Chron. 17:1, 8 are in error.

Let us notice further that according to the late pattern both Jotham and Pekah had twenty full years of reign,² both beginning in 740/39 and both terminating in 720/19. Yet according to II Kings 15:32, Jotham came to the throne in the second year of Pekah. Subtracting two from twenty leaves eighteen, and the late pattern offers no method by which we can account for the fact that eighteen years for Jotham (II Kings 15:30, 32), is equal to twenty years for Jotham (II Kings 15:30), is equal to twenty years for Pekah (II Kings 15:27). One year, of course, might be accounted for in the new pattern on the same grounds as it is accounted for in the original pattern, and that is on the basis of a Nisan termination of the regnal year in Israel and a Tishri termination in Judah. The original pattern accounts for the one remaining year of the seeming discrepancy on the same basis as the item discussed in the previous paragraph, Jotham's reckoning the initial year of his coregency as his first rather than his accession year. But according to the new pattern there was no coregency. So if this pattern is correct, then either II Kings 15:32 or II Kings 15:30 is in error. When we notice that the twenty-year reign of Jotham which terminated in 732/31 had its beginning in 750, while the twenty-year reign of Pekah which also terminated in 732/31 had its beginning in 752/51, we can see how the data of a twenty-year reign for each of these kings apply perfectly to the original pattern whereas they will not apply to the late pattern beginning both of these reigns in 740/39 and terminating both in 720/19.

Let it be recognized that the Old Testament has a most amazingly exact pattern of chronology for the Hebrew kings. But let it also be recognized that at some late day by some late hand, four synchronisms were introduced which have since given rise to a series of startling historical incongruities, internal inconsistencies, and factual

2. The anomaly of both a sixteen- and a twenty-year reign for Jotham has been previously discussed and will not require further consideration here.

impossibilities. It is this pattern that would make Ahaz a father at the age of one. It is this that calls for Sennacherib coming against the fenced cities of Judah seven years before he came to the throne, that provides a setting for Hezekiah's accession so out of harmony with the picture of II Chronicles 30—with the king of Judah issuing official decrees applying to the land of Israel that would never have been attempted in Judah or tolerated in Israel as long as the Northern nation retained its king, and with the people going forth from the passover at Jerusalem into Ephraim and Manasseh to destroy all the appurtenances of idolatry while the idolatrous king of Israel was still seated upon his throne. The Old Testament presents its own true, harmonious, consistent picture of the times, one which the later pattern would replace by confusion and perplexity.

Many other weaknesses are to be found in this late pattern if it is carefully examined—some major distortions of history, some seemingly minor errors of a technical nature which only add to the confusion but which help to give evidence concerning its true nature. Let us notice one of these. When the kingdoms were first divided, the year beginning with Nisan, 931, to Nisan, 930 for Israel, synchronized with the year Tishri, 931, to Tishri, 930 for Judah. And when we come to the year 740/39, we find that Nisan, 740, to Nisan, 739, is the year in which Pekahiah died and Pekah began his reign, as synchronizing with the year Tishri, 740, to Tishri, 739, for the year in which Azariah died and Jotham began his sole reign. It is obvious from the exactness of the pattern thus far employed that the scribes responsible for it knew exactly in which month of the year the accession of a king took place, in Israel as well as in Judah.

When, however, we come to the year 740/39, the date which in the computations of the late scribe marked the beginning of his "Pattern Twelve-Thirteen," we find a variation from the system of synchronous years thus far employed. Instead of having the year Tishri, 740, to Tishri, 739 for Judah, synchronizing with the year Nisan, 740, to Nisan, 739 for Israel, we now find the synchronization with Nisan, 739, to Nisan, 738.³ The question may be asked, why was this change introduced? Certainly this deviation from the invariable custom thus far employed gives evidence of the work of a scribe from a later period who was no longer acquainted with the exact pattern of synchronizations previously used. But careful examination of the true pattern as compared with the late pattern will

3. To see just how these years work out in this period see the chart of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen at p. 75.

show just why the change was made. It will be noticed that in the original pattern the overlap of the fifty-second year of Azariah with the second year of Pekahiah and the accession of Pekah, was between Tishri, 740, and Nisan, 739. On the late pattern the period of overlap of Jotham and Pekah was between Nisan and Tishri, 739. This would call for an accession of Jotham at some time between Nisan and Tishri rather than between Tishri and Nisan. But the time when Jotham began his sole reign was at some point between Tishri, 740, and Nisan, 739, whereas the beginning of his coregency took place at some time between Nisan and Tishri, 750. It will be recalled that the error made by this scribe in his late pattern was to transfer the accession of Jotham as coregent, which took place between Nisan and Tishri, 750, to the last year of Azariah, Tishri, 740, to Tishri, 739. The only Nisan to Tishri period in such a year was that of 739. And with that time he felt it necessary to synchronize the year of Pekah's accession. So Pekah's accession year was begun in Nisan, 739, and carried over to Nisan, 738.

This mistake may appear to be one of minor importance, a mere technicality, for he still had Pekah's accession taking place in the fifty-second year of Azariah as required by II Kings 15:27. That may be, but it must be realized that it was nevertheless a mistake of a full year, for the year when Pekah began to reign was Nisan, 740, to Nisan, 739, and the next year, Nisan, 739, to Nisan, 738, which the late scribe reckoned as the year of Pekah's accession, was actually Pekah's first year. In other words, the reign of Pekah was now thrown one additional year ahead. To the original error of twelve years was thus added another year, making a total of thirteen years of error in the pattern of Israel as compared to twelve years for Judah.

Having begun with the date 740/39 as the beginning of a twenty-year reign for Jotham, the year 720/19 was secured as its close. That year was known to be the twelfth year of Ahaz, who began his reign in 732/31. It will be recalled that 732/31 was also the year when Jotham's twenty-year reign came to its close. The termination of Jotham's reign now being given the date 720/19 instead of 732/31, this pattern for Judah was at this time exactly twelve years in error.

In Israel the twenty years of Pekah which were begun in 739/38 instead of 752/51 were made to terminate in 719/18 instead of 732/31. The pattern for Israel is thus now thirteen years in error as compared to twelve years for Judah. Nisan, 719, to Nisan, 718, thus became the year of Hoshea's accession, of which the period

from Nisan to Tishri, 719, synchronized with that same period of Ahaz's twelfth year and Jotham's erroneous twentieth year. With an accession year of Nisan, 719, to Nisan, 718, the reign of Hoshea was carried through on this basis to its close—thirteen years in error, for it was in 732/31 and not in 719/18 that the accession of Hoshea took place.

It will be obvious that if the chronology of Israel is now thirteen years out of order, the date of any king upon that pattern will differ by just thirteen years from any correct date. And if the chronology of Judah on this pattern is twelve years out of order, it will differ by just twelve years from any true date. Let us further recall that upon the chronological outline introduced by this late copyist, the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah were in their correct positions, while that of Jotham had been moved twelve years ahead, and in Israel the reigns of Pekah and Hoshea had been moved thirteen years ahead of their original positions. It will be obvious that the individual who was responsible for this late pattern knew nothing of such a dual symbol as "740/39" made necessary for our present purposes by the adoption at some future time of a calendar year beginning with January. In all probability the pattern he had before him was basically one of Tishri to Tishri years, as our scheme is one of January to January years. On that pattern our symbol "740/39" for Jotham stood for a year beginning with Tishri, 740, and extending to Tishri, 739. Within that year he placed the beginning of the reigns of both Jotham and Pekah. Our symbol "732/31" was for him the Tishri to Tishri year within which Ahaz began to reign. And our symbol "720/19" on his pattern stood for a year beginning with Tishri, 720, and terminating with Tishri, 719. Within that year he placed the termination of the twenty-year reign of Jotham, the twelfth year of Ahaz, the end of the twenty-year reign of Pekah, and the beginning of the reign of Hoshea. From "732/31" to "720/19" thus was for him a period of twelve years, marking twelve years of overlap between the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz. And from "732/31" to "720/19" was also for him a period of twelve years since Ahaz commenced his reign to the year in which Pekah terminated his reign and Hoshea became king. Inasmuch as that period was to him a period of twelve years, we have throughout this study spoken of a mysterious chronological pattern twelve years out of line with the events of contemporary history, although it is now apparent that it was only for Judah that this pattern was twelve years too long, whereas for Israel it was thirteen.

An understanding of the above details makes possible the following rule which may be used if it is desired to secure the correct dates for the chronological data based upon this late pattern. Working on the basis of the correct dates for Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea, the years of Ahaz and Hezekiah will need to be lowered either twelve or thirteen years, or working on the basis of the correct dates for Ahaz and Hezekiah, the dates of Jotham, Pekah, and Hoshea will need to be raised twelve or thirteen years. If the synchronism is one of a king of Israel expressed in terms of a king of Judah, the adjustment to be made is twelve years. If the reign under discussion is that of a king of Judah synchronized with the years of a king of Israel, the adjustment will be thirteen years.

Let us observe the working of this rule, using each of the four synchronisms found in the Old Testament based upon this late pattern, II Kings 17:1; 18:1, 9, 10. We will begin with the synchronism of II Kings 17:1, that Hoshea of Israel came to the throne in the twelfth year of Ahaz of Judah. The correct twelfth year of Ahaz is 720/19. According to our rule the year of Hoshea's accession should be twelve years before, 732/31, which is correct. Next let us try the synchronism of II Kings 18:1, that Hezekiah came to the throne in the third year of Hoshea. The correct date for Hezekiah's accession is 716/15. Applying our rule, we should find the third year of Hoshea thirteen years before, or 729/28. If 729/28 is the third year of Hoshea, then 732/31 would be the year of his accession. Again the answer is correct. Let us notice that in the first instance the date of Hoshea's accession was secured by making an adjustment of twelve years, and in the second instance it was secured by making an adjustment of thirteen years, and in both instances the correct date for Hoshea's accession, 732/31, was secured. In each instance the rule above set forth was followed as based upon the principles previously explained.

The third and fourth synchronisms are those of II Kings 18:9, 10 concerning the fall of Samaria. The reign under discussion is that of Hezekiah of Judah and the event with which it is related is one that concerns the Northern Kingdom, so the adjustment should be one of thirteen years. Second Kings 18:9 synchronizes the fourth year of Hezekiah with the seventh year of Hoshea. The fourth year of Hezekiah is 712/11. Applying our rule, the seventh year of Hoshea should be 725/24. If 725/24 is the seventh year of Hoshea, then 732/31 would be his accession year, which again is right. Second Kings 18:10 synchronizes the sixth year of Hezekiah with Hoshea's

ninth year. Let us try this synchronism the other way round. Hoshea's ninth year is 723/22. Therefore, according to our rule, 710/9 should be the sixth year of Hezekiah. This again is right since 716/15 was the year of Hezekiah's accession. It will be noticed that both 732/31 as the year of Hoshea's accession and 716/15 as the beginning of Hezekiah's reign can be verified by the evidence of the Assyrian monuments. And likewise the records of Babylon and Assyria, when they are carefully examined, give evidence of 723/22 as the year when Samaria fell.

We have observed the working of the afore-mentioned rule as applied to the four synchronisms of this late pattern of Kings. If there were any more synchronisms according to this pattern the rule would likewise apply. Let it be noticed that it is only in the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah of Judah in relation to Pekah and Hoshea in Israel that such synchronisms might arise, since it is only the reigns of these kings that stand in such a relationship to each other on this pattern; the reign of Jotham standing with those of Pekah and Hoshea as having been erroneously moved ahead, Jotham by twelve years, and Pekah and Hoshea by thirteen.

The following table will make clear the relative dates for this period upon the late pattern as compared with the original pattern:

Judah	Original	Pattern Twelve-Thirteen	Difference
Jotham, 1st year.....	751/50	739/38	12 years
Jotham, 16th year.....	736/35	724/23	12 years
Jotham, 20th year.....	732/31	720/19	12 years
Ahaz, accession	732/31	732/31	None
Ahaz, 12th year.....	720/19	720/19	None
Ahaz, 16th year.....	716/15	716/15	None
Hezekiah, accession	716/15	716/15	None
Hezekiah, 4th year.....	712/11	712/11	None
Hezekiah, 6th year.....	710/9	710/9	None
Israel			
Pekah, accession	752/51	739/38	13 years
Pekah, 2d year.....	750/49	737/36	13 years
Pekah, 17th year.....	735/34	722/21	13 years
Pekah, 20th year.....	732/31	719/18	13 years
Hoshea, accession	732/31	719/18	13 years
Hoshea, 3d year.....	729/28	716/15	13 years
Hoshea, 7th year.....	725/24	712/11	13 years
Hoshea, 9th year.....	723/22	710/9	13 years

It will be recognized that when this late divergent pattern was introduced and was superimposed upon the original correct pattern, the result could only be confusion and uncertainty. Only four syn-

chronisms based on this pattern found their way into the record of Kings. But they have given rise to almost no end of difficulty. Many sincere and well-meaning scholars in their attempts to create systems of Biblical chronology have followed the lead of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10, only to secure dates for Hezekiah and Ahaz which could not be harmonized with the events of contemporary history and which gave them a false base upon which to begin the construction of their chronological schemes. And unfortunately, some of the world's foremost Bible scholars have, because of the difficulties introduced by these four late synchronisms, been caused to lose confidence in the entire outline of Biblical chronology. Little was it realized that once these four synchronisms were recognized for what they were—an extraneous and divergent introduction by some late hand, and forming no part of the original picture—there would stand forth a chronological pattern of the Hebrew kings in the full harmony and beauty of its original perfection—truly remarkable for its fulness of agreement with the historical facts of the ancient world and for the almost unbelievable accuracy with which its chronological data were recorded and passed on to ages to come.

Let it be recognized that the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10 are all part of the same pattern and the product of the same late hand. But, divergent and incongruous though that pattern may be, once its basic nature is understood, the data contained therein may be used for the reconstruction of a perfectly correct chronological outline of certain important events in the history of Israel and Judah. In fact, the very existence of this pattern makes possible a knowledge of certain historic facts that would otherwise remain unknown. Indeed, were it not for a number of items of vital importance contained in this pattern, it would not be possible to bring about the completion of the long desired but strangely elusive chronological outline of this period of the Hebrew kings. Except for the clew provided by the synchronism of II Kings 17:1 when set against the correct synchronism of II Kings 15:30, we would not from the Biblical record have been able to secure the exact date of the beginning of Jotham's coregency, and without that information the completion of an unbroken chronological chain of the Hebrew kings would have been difficult indeed if not impossible.

Our study of this very involved and exceedingly troublesome period in the chronology of the Hebrew kings is completed. The picture as it is before us is, we believe, a true picture, with each king of each nation standing in his proper place in relationship to others

of his own nation and to those in the broader world in which he lived. That world was a world not of fancy but of fact. Its men were real men—men with whom the characters of the Bible often came into close relationship. Some of them we have met in these pages—such men as Tiglath-pileser III and Shalmaneser V, Sargon II and Sennacherib. These men were men of flesh and blood as were also such men as Pekah and Hoshea, Azariah, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. They moved about together in the same world. They had dealings with each other on terms of peace and terms of war—Tiglath-pileser III with Azariah and Menahem, and with Ahaz, Pekah, and Hoshea; Shalmaneser V with Hoshea of Israel; and Sennacherib with Hezekiah of Judah. The contacts of these men were tangible contacts in a world that was very real and at times that were very certain. The contacts of Tiglath-pileser with Azariah and Menahem were contacts that took place while all lived together in the same world—not between a Tiglath-pileser who did not begin to reign till twenty years after Menahem and Azariah were in their graves, as some systems of “Biblical” chronology would have us believe. When Sennacherib came up against Hezekiah to drive him from his throne, it was not a Sennacherib who did not become king until some seven years after that memorable fourteenth year of Hezekiah in which this conflict took place. Let us remember that if history is to consist of fact rather than fiction, then the men of the world and the men of the Word must move along together in lands where time advances at an even pace. The years of the world in which the Assyrians lived kept constantly in accord with the years of the world in which the Hebrews lived, and true Biblical chronology moved right along together with the chronology of Syria as well as Assyria, with Babylon as well as Egypt. If the chronology of the world in which the Assyrians and Babylonians lived moved along in tune with the stars, then the chronology of the world in which the Hebrews lived must likewise move along in tune with the same firmament of heaven—not faster or slower, but exactly right, and each in perfect accord with the other. And if we find time for the Hebrews going faster or slower than it did for the men of Assyria or Egypt, should we not pause long enough to ask ourselves just what the cause might be? If the men of the Bible were real men and if the chronology of the Bible is a correct chronology, then that chronology must be in perfect accord with the correct chronology of every other neighboring state. We cannot continue to have men of Israel and men of Babylon or Assyria looking each other in the face when they lived a score or

more years apart. If Bible students would be intelligent students, they will not deal with figures for men that constitute pious fancy but historical untruth.

What we in these pages have been endeavoring to do is to get down to basic facts, for the men of Israel and Judah as well as for the men of the Assyrian empire. And when we deal with facts—the facts of the Bible as well as the facts of the Assyrian monuments—these facts will be found to be in perfect agreement with each other, and the men of Jerusalem and Samaria will be men whose years moved along at exactly the same pace as did those of the men of Calah and Nineveh, of Khorsabad and Assur.

The history of the nation of Israel is now completed. The striking agreement of the chronology, as it has here been reconstructed, of Israel, with the chronology of Assyria at such places where definite contacts between the two nations may be established, gives confidence that we are dealing with the absolute chronology of both countries. The use by the writer or writers of the Books of Kings, as has herein been demonstrated, of two diverse systems of chronological reckoning for the Hebrew monarchies and their interweaving in the way we find them, together with the evidence of shifts in the systems of reckoning in use in both Israel and Judah, demands that the writers had access to actual official chronicles which were correct and which they cited accurately. It is an interesting aspect of their faithfulness and their competence that within a single passage, as happens so often, they readily and quickly swung from one system to another and back again if need be, and that in all this complex procedure they were able to keep their bearings and pass on to us a record so straight that we today, once the principles of the system are understood, are able to unravel the seemingly tangled skein and reproduce the basic pattern as it once existed in its original harmony.

Chapter Eight

THE CHRONOLOGY OF JUDAH, 716-586

WITH Israel having come to its end, the task of carrying through the reconstruction of the chronology of Judah to the fall of the Southern Kingdom must henceforth be carried on without the aid of cross-references to the years of the kings of Israel. Troublesome though the data at times have been, it was only this complete information which made possible the task of carrying through the reconstruction of the chronology of the kings upon anything more than a guesswork basis, for without the synchronisms we would have had no information concerning the existence of certain coregencies, or of the methods of reckoning employed. And lacking this information, an exact chronological reconstruction would not have been possible. In the period before us we shall be deprived of the invaluable assistance these synchronisms have furnished, and not until we reach the time when synchronisms are available with Babylonian kings will we have the certain evidence that we are again on solid ground. If there should be a coregency in the century with which we are about to deal, the only means of ascertaining this fact will be to go on to the next fixed date in the history of Judah and then to compare the number of years in this interval with the recorded years of the kings for the same period. Any excess in the latter would be either a coregency or a number of coregencies or else an error.

The date 716/15 as the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah has already been ascertained. Hezekiah ruled twenty-nine years (II Kings 18:2; II Chron. 29:1), which provides the date 687/86 for the termination of his reign. The next fixed date in the history of Judah is secured from a synchronism of the fourth year of Jehoiakim with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1). The accession of Nebuchadnezzar took place in 605,¹ and his first year was thus 604, which must then have also been the fourth year of Jehoiakim. To cover the interval from Hezekiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim are the following reigns:

1. Richard A. Parker and Waldo H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology, 626 B.C.—A.D. 45* (Chicago, 1942), p. 9.

Manasseh	55 years
Amon	2 years
Josiah	31 years
Jehoahaz	3 months
Jehoiakim	4 years
Total	92 years, 3 months

From the termination of the reign of Hezekiah (687/86) to the fourth year of Jehoiakim (604) is only eighty-three years, leaving an excess of some nine or ten years. Our task is to ascertain whether this might constitute a coregency, and, if so, where. We will proceed by a process of elimination.

If 604 was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, then 609/8 was his accession year. That, too, would be the date for the three-month reign of Jehoahaz (II Kings 23:31; II Chron. 36:2), and the terminal year of Josiah. Given 609/8 as the thirty-first and final year of Josiah (II Kings 22:1; II Chron. 34:1), 640/39 would be his accession year, unless some coregencies were involved. We know that there was no coregency of Jehoahaz with Josiah, for Jehoahaz was placed on the throne by the people upon the slaying of Josiah by Necho (II Kings 23:30). Moreover, the period involved was only three months. We know also that there was no coregency of Jehoiakim with either Josiah or Jehoahaz, for he was placed on the throne by Necho (II Kings 23:34). A further positive evidence that no coreigns were involved in this period is provided by the information that from the thirteenth year of Josiah to the fourth year of Jehoiakim was twenty-three years (Jer. 25:1, 3). If 604 was the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the twenty-third year before that was 627/26, and this would be the thirteenth year of Josiah. The accession year of Josiah on this basis would be 640/39, the same figure as arrived at above. So we know that whatever coregency there might have been came before this period.

The predecessor of Josiah was Amon, who ruled only two years (II Kings 21:19; II Chron. 33:21). Was Josiah coregent with his father Amon? If so, it could not have been for more than two years, for that was the extent of Amon's reign. Josiah, moreover, was placed on the throne not by his father, Amon, but by the people after Amon had been slain in a conspiracy (II Kings 21:23, 24; II Chron. 33:25). Moreover, the age of Josiah was only eight when he began to reign (II Kings 22:1; II Chron. 34:1), which would have been entirely too young for a coregency. All the facts are against a coregency of Josiah with his father.

Amon is the next candidate for a coregency. Did he spend part of his reign ruling with his father Manasseh? The total extent of his kingship was only two years, so if he had spent two years on the throne with his father he would have had no reign in his own right and he would have died in the same year as did his father. Had he learned the lessons of kingship while occupying the throne during the time that his father lived, perhaps he would not have fallen victim to the palace regicides (II Kings 21:23). Let us not begrudge Amon his two years as sole ruler.

The only other candidate left for a coregency is Manasseh. Might it be that Manasseh spent a portion of his youth on the throne with his father Hezekiah? Let us examine the situation. Manasseh ruled fifty-five years (II Kings 21:1; II Chron. 33:1), and part of this very long reign could well have been spent as coregent. Let us notice the pattern of age relationships. Hezekiah was twenty-five when he began to reign (II Kings 18:2; II Chron. 29:1), in 716/15. Twenty-nine years later, 687/86, when his reign terminated, his age was fifty-four. Manasseh was twelve years old when he began to reign (II Kings 21:1; II Chron. 33:1). If the beginning of Manasseh's rule was in 687/86, at the time of his father's death, then Hezekiah was forty-two before his first son Manasseh was born. That would be possible, but it would be much more probable that Hezekiah was somewhat younger than forty-two at the time of Manasseh's birth.

We have noticed that the total years of reign for the kings from Manasseh to Jehoiakim called for a coregency of some nine or ten years in this period, with all the kings other than Manasseh eliminated for this coregency. The age pattern as between Hezekiah and Manasseh indicates that in all probability Manasseh began to reign at the age of twelve, some time previous to Hezekiah's death in 687/86. If he began to rule with his father in 697/96, ten years before Hezekiah died, the age of Hezekiah would at that time have been forty-four. If Manasseh began to rule as coregent in 697/96 at the age of twelve, Hezekiah would have been thirty-two at the time of Manasseh's birth. This is much more probable than forty-two.

But would Hezekiah associate his twelve-year-old son with him on the throne? What might call for such a move? A Hebrew lad when he reached the age of twelve was a "son of the law" and had become *gadol*. He had then passed from the days of childhood to youth and was considered old enough to concern himself with the serious work of life (cf. Luke 2:42, 49). At about the time of Sennacherib's invasion of 701, Hezekiah was in a precarious state of health

but had received assurance from the prophet Isaiah of another fifteen years of life (II Kings 20:1-7; II Chron. 32:24; Isa. 28:1-22). It is only to be expected that the king, facing the prospect of the termination of his reign within fifteen years, would at the earliest moment give to the heir-presumptive every advantage of training in rulership. Such a moment had arrived when Manasseh reached the age of twelve, and it is, therefore, altogether probable that at that time Hezekiah associated his son with him on the throne. The coregency would thus begin in 696/95 and would terminate with the death of Hezekiah in 687/86. Its length was ten years, inclusive reckoning, and the excess of years previously mentioned for this century would thus be accounted for. It is unfortunate that absolute proof is not available for a coregency at precisely this juncture, but lacking final information concerning the facts we can only point out the probabilities and proceed on this basis.

The campaign of Sennacherib against Hezekiah and the cities of Judah in 701 has been previously mentioned and will not need to detain us here. After the account of Sennacherib's campaign, a statement is found to the effect that "in those days" Hezekiah was sick unto death (II Kings 20:1; Isa. 38:1). The period referred to is that of the campaign of 701, for the promise that fifteen years would be added to Hezekiah's life is associated with the promise that God would defend Jerusalem (II Kings 20:6; Isa. 38:5, 6). Fifteen years after 702/1 was 687/86, the terminal year of Hezekiah's reign.

The time when Merodach Baladan, "king of Babylon," sent his envoys to congratulate Hezekiah upon his recent recovery (II Kings 20:12; Isa. 39:1) must thus have been shortly after 701. At that time, however, Merodach Baladan was no longer seated on the throne of Babylon, having lost his throne to the Assyrians a few years before. Bel-ibni, a native Chaldean and probably a member of the family of Merodach Baladan, had been made king by the Assyrians and ruled from 702 to 699. During this period Merodach Baladan was a king in exile and was openly active against Assyria. Hearing of Hezekiah's bold and successful stand against Sennacherib, the erstwhile Babylonian monarch might find in this courageous king of Jerusalem a valuable ally in his struggle against the growing power of Assyria, and the moment was thus opportune for such an embassy.

In 687/86 Manasseh began his sole rule. Esarhaddon, king of Assyria from 681 to 669, listed Manasseh among the twenty-two kings of the Hittite country who were in vassalage to him.² The Chroni-

2. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1927), sec. 690.

cler has preserved a record that Manasseh was carried captive to Babylon by the king of Assyria (II Chron. 33:11), but no chronological information is available concerning the exact time of these contacts.

Manasseh began his coregency in 696/95, and his sole reign in 687/86. He ruled fifty-five years (II Kings 21:1; II Chron. 33:1), and died in 642/41. He was succeeded by his son Amon, who ruled two years (II Kings 21:18, 19; II Chron. 33:31), 642/41 to 640/39. Amon was succeeded by his son Josiah, then only eight years of age, who reigned thirty-one years (II Kings 22:1; II Chron. 34:1), to 609/8.

The period immediately before us is in some respects the most interesting and fruitful of all for Biblical chronological study, for in no other period is there available such a wealth of detailed chronological information. Dates are now expressed not only in terms of years but frequently also in terms of months and days. Frequent cross-references occur between the reigns of Hebrew and Babylonian kings which make possible precise dating of events.

Yet there are also difficulties. In the case of each individual writer it is necessary to know exactly how reigns were reckoned or inaccuracies and discrepancies result.

A careful examination of the internal evidence indicates that all Biblical writers of this period used the accession-year system for Hebrew, Babylonian, or Persian kings. The writers of Kings and Jeremiah used a Tishri-to-Tishri system when speaking of Hebrew kings and a Nisan-to-Nisan system when speaking of Babylonian kings; the dates in the Book of Ezekiel are according to a Nisan-to-Nisan system when speaking of the years of Jehoiachin's captivity; Haggai and Zechariah used Nisan-to-Nisan years; but Nehemiah, and probably his contemporary Ezra, used a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning even when speaking of Persian kings, for Nehemiah speaks of being in the palace of Artaxerxes in the month Kislev of the twentieth year of the king, but he also speaks of the following Nisan as in the same twentieth year (Neh. 1:1; 2:1). When these systems are employed it will be found that the chronological data for the closing period of the Old Testament preserve internal harmony and are in agreement with the correct dates of contemporary history.

The reasons why Kings and Jeremiah do not agree as to the exact day of the month in reporting the date of the arrival of Nebuzaradan at Jerusalem and the release of Jehoiachin from his thirty-seven years of Babylonian captivity are still uncertain. Kings gives the former as the seventh day of the fifth month, while Jeremiah has it the tenth

day of the fifth month (II Kings 25:8; Jer. 52:12), while for the latter event Kings gives the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month, and Jeremiah the twenty-fifth day of the month (II Kings 25:27; Jer. 52:31). It is possible that these differences point to the use of different calendrical systems.

A problem still remains concerning the exact time when Josiah met his death at Megiddo at the hands of Necho II (609-593), as the latter was making his way through Palestine toward Carchemish on the Euphrates (II Kings 23:29; II Chron. 35:20-24). The termination of Josiah's reign has previously been given as 609/8. A record exists to the effect that Assuruballit and an Egyptian army advanced against the North Syrian capital of Harran in the month of Tammuz and that the Babylonian garrison was slaughtered.³ The year is not specifically mentioned in this part of the record, but inasmuch as this account immediately follows a section dealing with the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, the time was in all probability his seventeenth year, or 609 B.C. From Tammuz to Elul there was an unsuccessful siege of the city by the Assyrians and Egyptians. This, then, would call for a northward advance by Necho through Palestine in Tammuz or possibly earlier in 609, and a return in Elul or possibly Tishri of the same year.

The question arises as to whether it was during this or in the following year that Josiah was slain. In favor of 609 is the fact that the siege of Harran lasted just three months, Tammuz to Elul, and that the reign of Jehoahaz, who began his rule at the northward advance of Necho through Palestine and was deposed by him evidently on his return to the south, likewise lasted just three months (II Kings 23:31-34; II Chron. 36:1-4). If Josiah died in 609 rather than in 608, the beginning of his reign and that of Amon and Manasseh will have to be pushed back one year from the dates we have previously given.

It is impossible, however, to move back the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim, the successor of Jehoahaz, beyond the date given, for the years of this king are so definitely tied into the fixed dates of Nebuchadnezzar as to prevent their being moved either one way or the other. For instance, the fourth year of Jehoiakim synchronizes with the first year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 25:1), and having 604 for the latter we also have 604 for the former, which would bring the accession of Jehoiakim at some time between Tishri, 609, and Tishri, 608. If Jehoiakim came to the throne in Tishri, 609, then the three-month reign of Jehoahaz would probably have commenced

3. C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* (London, 1923), p. 41.

early in Tammuz of that year, or possibly somewhat before, as Necho was passing through Palestine on his way to the Euphrates, and it must have terminated in Tishri rather than Elul. This would be altogether possible, for Necho, having terminated his siege of Harran in Elul, might not have reached southern Palestine until Tishri.

But still another possibility exists, and that is that Necho, having made a northward advance through Palestine in 609, may have made still another advance through that country the following year to continue the inconclusive struggle with the Babylonian king for the control of North Syria which began the preceding year. The tablet which tells of the Egyptian campaign of 609 closes with a "catch-line" which reproduces the opening words of the next tablet, and this shows that Nabopolassar was in the field again the following year, although the name of the foe is not revealed. Were this tablet still intact, Gadd suggests that it would probably reveal the interesting details of the conflict between Nabopolassar and his allies and Necho II of Egypt.⁴ This would bring Josiah's death in 608, the traditional date, and the date here given.

One record refers to a campaign of Nebuchadnezzar against Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan. 1:1), some time between Tishri, 606, and Tishri, 605. Spring or summer of 605 would be the natural time for such a campaign, for an attack of the Babylonian armies against the west in the rainy season that would set in soon after Tishri, 606, would be extremely unlikely. Josephus has preserved an important witness of Berosus concerning such a campaign.⁵ The statement is to the effect that while he heard that the west had revolted from him, he sent his son Nebuchadnezzar against the regions around Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to bring them back into subjection. After this brief introduction Josephus continues with a presentation of Berosus' own account of the incident. The vital points are that when Nabopolassar heard that the governor whom he had previously appointed over the west had revolted from him, Nebuchadnezzar was sent against the rebel, conquered him, and brought the country back under the dominion of Babylon. In the midst of this western campaign word reached Nebuchadnezzar of his father's death, whereupon he committed the captives taken from the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and others to his captains, and hastened

4. *Ibid.*, p. 23.

5. *Against Apion* i. 132-39; *Ant.* x. 219-23. For older editions see *Ag. Ap.* i. 19; *Ant.* x. 11. 1.

back to Babylon to take his throne. The last two tablets of Nabopolassar are dated II/6/21 (May 16, 605) and V/1/21 (August 8, 605), while the first two tablets of Nebuchadnezzar are IV/—/acc. (month IV ends August 7, 605) and VI/12/acc. (September 18, 605).⁶ The testimony of Berossus is to the effect that Nebuchadnezzar made a campaign to Palestine in the year in which his father died; the Babylonian evidence is to the effect that this is the year 605; and the evidence of Daniel is to the effect that this campaign was made in the third year of Jehoiakim. If 608 was the year of Jehoiakim's accession, then 605 was his third year, and we find our chronology at this point in accord with the testimony of Berossus.

In his account of this revolt against Babylon in the west and of the dispatch of Nebuchadnezzar to bring about its suppression, Berossus several times makes mention of Egypt. It was the governor whom Nabopolassar had placed over "Egypt" who at this time is said to have engaged in a revolt; Nebuchadnezzar while on this expedition in the west had already succeeded in settling the affairs of "Egypt" when the word came of his father's death; and when the captives were taken back to Babylon they were of the Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and of the "Egyptian" nations.⁷ The prominence with which the name of Egypt is featured by Berossus in this account of the western revolt is indicative of the continued interest of Egypt in Palestine and of the struggle still in progress between Egypt and Babylon for the control of that land. At the time when Josiah was slain by Necho while the latter was on his way to the Euphrates (II Kings 23:29), we may find the beginning of the struggle between Egypt and Babylon for control of the west. At that time the first battle of Carchemish was fought (II Chron. 35:20), in 608. No record has been preserved as to whether Egypt or its opponent was the victor on that occasion. The assumption has been that the advantage was with the Egyptians and that they maintained themselves in power at the Euphrates from 608 to 604, till the second battle of Carchemish, when Nebuchadnezzar inflicted upon Egypt a decisive defeat and settled once and for all the issue as to whether he or Necho would rule Palestine (Jer. 46:2. Cf. II Kings 24:7). It was in the year in which Josiah died, 608, that the first battle of Carchemish was fought, while the second battle took place in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 604.

6. R. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (Chicago, 1942), p. 9; Albrecht Goetze, "Additions to Parker and Dubberstein's *Babylonian Chronology*," *JNES*, III (1944), 43 ff.

7. Josephus, *op. cit.*

That Egypt could not have been entirely victorious in 608 and that she could not have been in undisputed control of Palestine from 608 to 604 as has long been assumed, is indicated by the revolt mentioned by Berosus on the part of the governor whom Nabopolassar had set over the westland and whom Nebuchadnezzar was sent to subdue in 605. If Babylon had not previously been in control, there could have been no revolt against Babylon for Nebuchadnezzar to suppress, and unless she had been in control she would not have placed a governor over the land prior to 605. How long before 605 Babylon first took control of Palestine from Egypt has not been recorded. But that could have happened shortly after the first battle of Carchemish in 608. That there was no immediate pursuit of the Egyptians by the Babylonians at that time is indicated by the fact that Necho on his return from Carchemish deposed Jehoahaz whom the people had placed on the throne after Josiah's death, and made Jehoiakim king (II Kings 23:30-34; II Chron. 36:1-4). The situation in the west must have been sufficiently critical for Necho to wish to make sure of his own candidate on the throne of Judah, one he could count on to be loyal to Egypt. It may be that we find in II Kings 24:1 a reflection of what then took place—that Nebuchadnezzar, at that time in command of his father's forces, not long after the first battle of Carchemish in 608 advanced southward into Palestine and made Jehoiakim tributary. It might have been the revolt mentioned in II Kings 24:1 which Nebuchadnezzar was sent to suppress in 605. Having again subjugated the west, Nebuchadnezzar was forced to make a hasty departure for Babylon to secure his throne. That would offer an opportune moment for Egypt again to attempt to throw off the Babylonian yoke, with the result that Egypt once more took over control, only to be defeated at Carchemish the following year.

The synchronism of Jer. 25:1, that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, definitely established the chronology of this period, for that year was 604. And the statement of Jer. 25:3, that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the twenty-third year since Jeremiah received his call to the prophetic office in the thirteenth year of Josiah, establishes the years of Josiah. With 626/25 as the thirteenth year of Josiah, the twenty-third year before 604, we have 640/39 as the year of Josiah's accession. His reign of thirty-one years (II Kings 22:11; II Chron. 34:1), thus extended from 640/39 to 608. The short three-month reign of Jehoahaz (II Kings 23:31; II Chron. 36:2), fell within the year 608, and that year also

marked Jehoiakim's accession. Jehoiakim ruled eleven years (II Kings 23:36; II Chron. 36:5), from 608 to 597.

The next ruler was Jehoiachin, who had reigned only three months when Nebuchadnezzar came against Jerusalem and took him captive to Babylon (II Kings 24:8-15; II Chron. 36:9, 10). This occurred in the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 24:12), and must have been after Nisan, 597, for that was the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar's eighth year. The Chronicler states that it was after the turn of the year (II Chron. 36:10), but it is debatable whether *lithšûbath-haššānāh* indicates the spring or fall turn of the year. In II Sam. 11:1, the same phrase clearly means the spring, Nisan, for it is here qualified as *'eth tse'th melachim*, "the time when kings go forth to battle." In Eze. 40:1 the vision of the temple is dated in "the beginning of the year," the tenth day of the month, "in the five and twentieth year of our captivity," "in the selfsame day," the fourteenth year after Jerusalem was smitten. Which month did the writer have in mind as "the beginning of the year," and which date did he wish to indicate as the beginning of Jehoiachin's captivity, Nisan 10 or Tishri 10? Since the context is clearly Babylonian, the indications are that the Babylonian month Nisan is intended as the beginning of the year. Eze. 40:1 is closely related to Eze. 33:21, as has been pointed out by Irwin,⁸ and in that reference the tenth month and the fifth day of the twelfth year of the captivity comes at some time after the fall of Jerusalem. Jerusalem fell on the ninth day of the fourth month of the eleventh year of Zedekiah (Jer. 39:2; 52:5, 6; II Kings 25:2, 3), which we shall see is July 19, 586. If it is in the fourth month of a Nisan-to-Nisan year that Jerusalem fell, in 586, then the tenth month of the twelfth year of the captivity referred to in Eze. 33:21 must also be a Nisan-to-Nisan year, and the same must be true of the twenty-fifth year of the captivity of Eze. 40:1, for that year is the fourteenth year since the city fell in the Nisan-to-Nisan year of 586. If the fourth month of Jer. 39:2 and 52:5, 6, when Jerusalem fell, was the fourth month of a Nisan-to-Nisan year, but if the tenth month of Ezekiel's twelfth year of Eze. 33:21 was the tenth month of a Tishri-to-Tishri year, then, if the "beginning of the year" of Eze. 40:1 was the beginning of a Tishri-to-Tishri year, it would have been the fifteenth and not the fourteenth year since Jerusalem fell in the fourth month of 596. It is clear from the numerical sequence involved, that the writer of Eze. 40:1 has in mind a Nisan-to-Nisan year, and that the "selfsame day" of the

8. William A. Irwin, *The Problem of Ezekiel* (Chicago, 1943), pp. 256 f.

month marking the beginning of the year when Jehoiachin was taken into captivity, was the tenth day of Nisan. It is only when this "beginning of the year" of Eze. 40:1 is reckoned as the beginning of a Nisan-to-Nisan year that internal harmony between the recorded data is preserved. And if harmony here is to be regarded as an argument for authenticity, then Eze. 40:1 conveys the information that it was in the month of Nisan that Jehoiachin's captivity began. Every indication is that Jehoiachin went into captivity on Nisan 10 (April 22), 597.

Jeremiah's statement that the body of Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin's predecessor, was to be cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem (Jer. 22:19), and that it was to be left exposed to the heat of the day and the frost of the night (Jer. 36:30), may be of interest in this connection. Inasmuch as Jehoiachin reigned only three months (II Kings 24:8), the time when the body of Jehoiakim was to be left exposed would thus be three months before either Nisan or Tishri. Three months before Tishri would be Tammuz or Ab, and the warmth of a night of July or August would hardly fit the specifications of Jer. 36:30. But three months before Nisan would be Tebeth or Shebat, and a night of January or February in Palestine would fit perfectly the requirements of Jeremiah's prediction.

The determination of the exact month of Jehoiachin's captivity, whether Nisan or Tishri, is of some importance, for there are so many chronological items in this period so closely tied together, that this date would affect a whole series of dates in the closing period of Judah's history.

Jehoiachin was succeeded by Zedekiah, the last king of the southern monarchy. He ruled eleven years (II Kings 24:18; II Chron. 36:11; Jer. 52:1). Since his accession was in Nisan, 597, the extent of his accession year was from Nisan to Tishri, 597, and his eleventh and final year was from Tishri, 587, to Tishri, 586. If his accession had been in Tishri, 597, his accession year would have extended from Tishri, 597, to Tishri, 596, and his eleventh year would have been from Tishri, 586, to Tishri, 585. It will be seen that the determination of the exact month of Jehoiachin's captivity would make a difference of one year in the dates of Zedekiah's reign, and it is this factor which would determine the exact year when Jerusalem fell and Judah came to its end.

The last event in the checkered history of the Southern Kingdom was the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. This siege began on the tenth day of the tenth month of Zedekiah's

ninth year (II Kings 25:1; Jer. 39:1; 52:4. Cf. Eze. 24:1, 2), January 15, 588.⁹ The next year, in the midst of the siege, Jeremiah was imprisoned, this being the tenth year of Zedekiah and synchronizing with the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 32:1), 587. Famine prevailed, the city was broken, and the king fled the following year on the ninth day of the fourth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year (II Kings 25:2, 3; Jer. 39:2; 52:5-7), July 19, 586. On the seventh day of the fifth month the final destruction of the city began (II Kings 25:8-10), August 15, 586. This was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 25:8; Jer. 52:12), which was from Nisan, 586, to Nisan, 585. Gedaliah, who had been appointed by Nebuchadnezzar as governor of the land, was slain in the seventh month (II Kings 25:22-25; Jer. 41:1, 2). The month of Tishri began on October 7 in the year 586. It must have been shortly after that time that the remnant that had been left by Nebuzaradan with Gedaliah took Jeremiah and forced him to accompany them to Egypt (Jer. 43:2-7). Word of the fall of Jerusalem reached the captives in Babylon on the fifth day of the tenth month of the twelfth year of their captivity (Eze. 33:21), January 8, 585. Zedekiah's reign thus was from 597 to 586.

Jehoiachin was eighteen years of age at his accession and the beginning of his captivity in Babylon (II Kings 24:8. Cf. II Chron. 36:9, where his age is given as eight). His lot, at least during the early years of his captivity, could not have been very trying, for a tablet dated in 592, listing payments of rations in oil, barley, etc., to captives and skilled workmen in and around Babylon, includes the name of Yaukin, king of Judah, and five of his sons.¹⁰ Later he must have been placed under more restricted custody, for after the death of Nebuchadnezzar he was released from prison by Amel-Marduk (II Kings 25:27-30; Jer. 52:31-34). The last dates for Nebuchadnezzar on available tablets are VI/21/43 (October 2, 562) and VI/26/43 (October 7, 562), and the first dates for Amel-Marduk are VI/26/acc. (October 7, 562) and VII/19/acc. (October 30, 562).¹¹ The release of Jehoiachin occurred on the twenty-seventh day of the

9. Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 26. All Julian dates given hereafter are based on the tables of Parker and Dubberstein.

10. W. F. Albright, "King Joiachin in Exile," *Biblical Archaeologist*, V (1942), 49 ff.; Ernst F. Weidner, "Joiachin, Koenig von Juda, in babylonischen Keilschrifttexten," *Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), I, 923-35.

11. Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Goetze, *op. cit.*

twelfth month of the thirty-seventh year of his captivity,¹² in the year that Amel-Marduk began to reign (II Kings 25:27), or March 21, 561. This was just before the first celebration of the New Year festivities on the part of the new king—a fitting time for the release of political prisoners.

As our dates from the death of Josiah on are examined, it will be found that they are on the whole one year lower than the dates employed by certain recent chronologists. Thus Lewy, Begrich, Mowinckel, and Albright give 609 for Jehoahaz, and Kugler, Begrich, Mowinckel, and Albright give 598 as the year of Jehoiachin's captivity and 587 for the fall of Jerusalem. Did Josiah die and did Jehoahaz reign in 609 or 608, did Jehoiachin go into captivity in 598 or 597, and did Jerusalem fall in 587 or 586?

The argument usually given for 609 as the year of Necho's advance through Palestine and the death of Josiah at Megiddo has already been given. But let it be remembered that the record dealing with the advance of the Egyptian army and Assuruballit through Palestine on its way to Harran is not definitely dated. Since the previous section of the record deals with the sixteenth year of Nabopolassar, 610, it has been assumed that the next section deals with the following year, 609. This assumption may or may not be correct. Even if correct, however, there is no conclusive evidence that Josiah had anything to do with that particular campaign, and it would have been entirely possible for Necho to have made another campaign through Palestine in the following year, 608, on which occasion Josiah met his death.

While there is thus no decisive evidence for 609 as the year of Josiah's death, or for 598 as the year of Jehoiachin's captivity, nor for 587 for the fall of Jerusalem, the following items are conclusive for 597 as the date of Jehoiachin's captivity and 586 for the fall of Jerusalem: (1) The year of Jehoiachin's three-month reign and the beginning of his Babylonian captivity was the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 24:11, 12). Nebuchadnezzar's eighth year did not begin till Nisan, 597, since it was in 605 that he began his reign,¹³ and no synchronism for the beginning of Jehoiachin's captivity and the eighth year of Nebuchadnezzar in 598 would thus be possible.

12. It should be noted that, according to the reckoning of Kings and Jeremiah, the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity was from Tishri, 562, to Tishri, 561. But, according to Ezekiel's method of reckoning, the thirty-seventh year of the captivity would not begin until Nisan, 561.

13. Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

(2) The tenth year of Zedekiah was the eighteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (Jer. 32:1). The latter was 587, not 588. (3) Jerusalem fell in the eleventh year of Zedekiah (II Kings 25:2-7), which was the nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar (II Kings 25:8-10). The nineteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar was 586, not 587. (4) Jehoiachin was given his release in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, in the accession year of Amel-Marduk, "the year that he began to reign," on the twenty-seventh day of the twelfth month (II Kings 25:27). The twelfth month of the accession year of Amel-Marduk came in 561. If that was the thirty-seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity, then the year when he went into captivity was 597, not 598. All this evidence is decisive, for the years of the Neo-Babylonian kings are definitely fixed. If, moreover, Berosus' account of an advance into Palestine by Nebuchadnezzar in the year in which he came to the throne¹⁴ is to be accepted as evidence, then 605 is the year of that attack and of the third year of Jehoiakim (Dan. 1:1), and 608 is the year of Jehoiakim's accession and of Josiah's death. The cumulative evidence is thus decisive for the dates herein presented; 608, 597, and 586, instead of 609, 598, and 587.

The study of the chronological material of the Hebrew kings as recorded in the Massoretic text is now completed. Other chronological items besides those we have here discussed, some of great historical and exegetical importance, are to be found in various books of the Old Testament. But these lie outside of the main field we have marked out for our present discussion—the establishment of the chronology of the period of the kings.

14. Josephus *Against Apion* i. 132-39; *Ant.* x. 219-23.

Chapter Nine

THE VARIANT FIGURES OF THE GREEK TEXTS

WHEN the figures for the synchronisms and lengths of reign of the Hebrew kings appearing in the ancient Greek manuscripts are compared with the numbers of the Hebrew text, some important variations are found. The question immediately arises as to what is responsible for these variant figures. Are the Greek numbers earlier and more correct than the Hebrew, and do they present a better chronological pattern, or is it the Hebrew text which has preserved these numbers in a more exact form?

Since so much difficulty has been encountered in the attempt to bring about any degree of harmony between the numbers for the synchronisms and lengths of reign appearing in the Hebrew text, it has been felt that these numbers might in the course of time have become corrupt and that they might be preserved in a more accurate form in the Greek than is the case in the Hebrew. Our study of the chronology of the kings will therefore not be complete until we have examined the variations that appear in the Greek texts and have made a careful comparison between the chronological patterns appearing in these texts and that of the Hebrew.

The Greek texts reveal two distinct patterns of variations, one in the earlier Septuagint manuscripts and another in the Lucianic revision of the Septuagint made about three centuries after Christ. The chronological patterns of the Greek texts are much simpler than is that of the Hebrew. In certain places where it is almost impossible to make the numbers appearing in the Hebrew agree with each other, an easy harmony will be discovered in the Greek. Thus the chronological pattern of the Septuagint has the appearance of being in many regards a distinct improvement over that of the Hebrew, and the figures of Lucian's revision at one point appear to be definitely better than those of the Septuagint.

For the data of the kings immediately following the disruption, the variations in LXX are identical with those in Luc.¹ Then comes

1. For the sake of brevity the following abbreviations will be used in this chapter: Massoretic or Hebrew text, "MT."; Septuagint, "LXX"; Lucian's revision of the Septuagint, "Luc."

a period in which Luc. varies from LXX and appears to be an improvement upon LXX. For the period from Jehu and Athaliah to the termination of the Northern Kingdom the figures in the Greek texts are identical with those in the Hebrew, except for one minor variation in Luc.

If the figures found in the Greek texts are indeed an improvement upon those in the Hebrew, if they are earlier and more correct, and if they present a pattern of Hebrew chronology possessing a greater degree of internal harmony and a higher accord with the historical facts of the ancient East, then this should be recognized and these are the figures that should be used for the Hebrew kings. Even though it may be true that the chronological patterns of the Greek texts in certain respects appear to be improvements upon that of the Hebrew, does it necessarily follow that these figures are earlier and more correct? This can only be determined by a careful study of these patterns themselves, by placing the Greek and Hebrew patterns side by side and noting their various features, and by such comparisons with the absolute chronological data of Near Eastern history as may be possible. Our first task is therefore the reestablishment of the patterns of the kings as they appear in LXX and Luc., and then a study of their various details.

The basic data concerning the synchronisms and lengths of reign found in MT., LXX, and Luc. have been listed by Burney in his study of the Hebrew text of the Books of Kings.² It should not be thought that Burney's list is at all exhaustive, for it would hardly be possible to record in a simple table all the variations in figures appearing in the many Greek manuscripts now in existence, but the table prepared by Burney presents the outstanding items of the more important manuscripts in convenient form and will be used as the basis of our discussion of the variant figures. Burney's table of variations appears on the following page. Variations in LXX or Luc. from MT. have been italicized, and a variation in Luc. from LXX is marked by an asterisk. It should be noted that two kings, Tibni (I Kings 16:21, 22) and Amon (II Kings 21:19) have been omitted by Burney from his table. These omissions, however, are of no consequence in our present study, for no figures are found for the synchronism of Tibni's accession or the length of his reign, and Amon occurs in an area where the figures of the Greek texts are identical with the Hebrew. When hereinafter we make use of the symbol

2. C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings* (Oxford, 1903), pp. xli-xliv.

"LXX," it should not be thought that we have in mind any single individual or any specific manuscript, nor even a group of Greek translations containing variants, none of which had ever appeared in any previously existing Hebrew text. What we do have in mind by "LXX" is that general body of tradition now appearing in the early Greek manuscripts as translated in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, from certain Hebrew manuscripts then at hand. It is entirely possible that some of the Greek variations from the present Hebrew text might already have been found in certain Hebrew manuscripts then used by the Greek translators. Whatever the facts, by "LXX" we mean the pattern of variations of the early Greek texts as contrasted with the pattern now found in the Massoretic text.

THE VARIANT FIGURES OF THE GREEK TEXTS

	King-	King	MT.	LXX	Luc.
	dom		Length of Reign	Length of Reign	Length of Reign
I. 14. 20.	I	Jeroboam	22	22	22
I. 14. 21.	J	Rehoboam	17	17	17
I. 15. 1.	J	Abijah	3	18th of Jeroboam	6 18th of Jeroboam
I. 15. 9.	J	Asa	41	20th of Jeroboam	41 24th of Jeroboam
I. 15. 25.	I	Nadab	2	2d of Asa	2 2d of Asa
I. 15. 33.	I	Ba'asha	24	3d of Asa	24 3d of Asa
I. 16. 8.	I	Elijah	2	26th of Asa (v. 6)	2 20th of Asa (v. 6)
I. 16. 15.	I	Zimri	† 27th of Asa	7† wanting	* 22d of Asa
I. 16. 23.	I	Omri	12	31st of Asa	12 31st of Asa
I. 16. 29.	I	Ahab	22	2d of Jehoshaphat	22 2d of Jehoshaphat
I. 22. 41.	J	Jehoshaphat	25	11th of Omri (16.28 f)	25 11th of Omri (16.28 f)
I. 22. 52.	I	Ahaziah	2	4th of Ahab	* 24th of Jehoshaphat
II. 1. 17.	I	Jehoram	12	2d of Jehoram J	12 2d of Jehoram J
II. 3. 1.	"	"	12	18th of Jehoshaphat	12 18th of Jehoshaphat
II. 8. 16.	J	Jehoram	8	5th of Jehoram I	8* 5th of Jehoram I
II. 8. 25.	J	Ahaziah	1	12th of Jehoram I	1 11th of Jehoram I
II. 9. 29.	"	"	11th of Jehoram I	11th of Jehoram I	1 11th of Jehoram I
II. 10. 35.	I	Jehu	28	28	28
II. 11. 3.	J	Athaliah	6	6	6
II. 12. 2.	J	Jehoash	40	7th of Jehu	40 7th of Jehu
II. 13. 1.	I	Jehoahaz	17	23d of Jehoash J	17 23d of Jehoash J
II. 13. 10.	I	Jehoash	16	37th of Jehoash J	16 37th of Jehoash J
II. 14. 1.	J	Amaziah	29	2d of Jehoash I	29 2d of Jehoash I
II. 14. 23.	I	Jeroboam	41	15th of Amaziah	41 15th of Amaziah
II. 15. 1.	J	Azariah	52	27th of Jeroboam	52 27th of Jeroboam
II. 15. 8.	I	Zechariah	† 38th of Azariah	† 38th of Azariah	† 38th of Azariah
II. 15. 13.	I	Shallum	† 39th of Azariah	† 39th of Azariah	† 39th of Azariah
II. 15. 17.	I	Menahem	10	39th of Azariah	10 39th of Azariah
II. 15. 23.	I	Pekahiah	2	50th of Azariah	10* 50th of Azariah
II. 15. 27.	I	Pekah	20	52d of Azariah	20 52d of Azariah
II. 15. 32.	J	Jotham	16	2d of Pekah	16 2d of Pekah
II. 16. 1.	J	Ahas	16	17th of Pekah	16 17th of Pekah
II. 17. 1.	I	Hoshea	9	12th of Ahas	9 12th of Ahas
II. 18. 1.	J	Hezekiah	29	3d of Hoshea	29 3d of Hoshea
II. 21. 1.	J	Manasseh	55	55	55
II. 22. 1.	J	Josiah	31	31	31
II. 23. 31.	J	Jehoahaz	†	†	†
II. 23. 36.	J	Jehoiakim	11	11	11
II. 24. 8.	J	Jehoiachin	†	†	†
II. 24. 18.	J	Zedekiah	11	11	11

* In this list variations in LXX or Luc. from Mt. have been italicized, and a variation in Luc. from LXX is marked by an asterisk.

† This item should read "7 days."

‡ This should be 7 days rather than years.

§ The synchronism of II Kings 15:30, the 20th year of Jotham for the accession of Hoshea has been here omitted in Burney's list.

As these figures are examined, it will be noticed that there are alternating groups of agreements and variations in the data regarding the kings. For the first two kings, Jeroboam and Rehoboam, the data in I Kings 14:20, 21 are identical in the Greek and Hebrew texts. For the next two kings, Abijam and Asa, variations are found in the data of I Kings 15:1, 9, these being the same in LXX and Luc. In the case of the two following kings, Nadab and Baasha, the Greek texts once more agree with the Hebrew of I Kings 15:25, 33. For the next two rulers, Elah and Zimri, variations again are found in I Kings 16:8, 15. In the instance of I Kings 16:8, LXX and Luc. are in agreement, but in I Kings 16:15 Luc. differs from LXX. For the following king, Omri, I Kings 16:23, the Greek and Hebrew texts again agree. Then come six kings—Ahab, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah and Joram of Israel, and Jehoram and Ahaziah of Judah—where variations are found in I Kings 16:29; 22:41, 52; II Kings 1:17; 3:1; 8:16, 25. For the first king of this group, Ahab, LXX and Luc. are in agreement, but for the following five kings Luc. differs from LXX. These are the last variations of any consequence between the Greek and Hebrew texts, the data for all the remaining kings being in agreement except for the years of Pekahiah's reign, II Kings 15:23, where LXX agrees with MT. but Luc. disagrees.

We thus find a rather interesting pattern of agreements and variations. For the first eleven kings, LXX and Luc. stand with each other in their agreements or disagreements with MT., except in two items, one of very minor consequence. But from there on, wherever we find disagreement in LXX from MT., agreement will be found in Luc., and where Luc. disagrees with MT., LXX agrees. Thus LXX and Luc. for a period follow the same chronological pattern, whether in agreement or disagreement with MT. Then comes a section where LXX and Luc. no longer agree with each other in their disagreements with MT.—if LXX disagrees, Luc. agrees, or if Luc. disagrees, LXX agrees. We will endeavor to reconstruct the chronological pattern for both LXX and Luc. in each of these areas, pointing out certain of the peculiar characteristics of the Greek texts for each period.

Our first period covers the first five kings on Burney's list; Jeroboam, Rehoboam, Abijam, Asa, and Nadab. The figures for the reigns of Jeroboam and Rehoboam are the same in LXX and Luc. as they are in MT., twenty-two years for Jeroboam and seventeen for Rehoboam. The synchronism for Abijam's accession is likewise the same in the Greek texts as it is in the Hebrew; namely, the eighteenth

year of Jeroboam. But in both LXX and Luc. the length of Abijam's reign is given as six years, against three years in MT. For the next king, Asa, the Greek texts are in agreement with the Hebrew as to the length of reign, forty-one years, but in LXX and Luc. the synchronism of Asa's accession is given as the twenty-fourth year of Jeroboam as against the twentieth year in MT. The data for Nadab are the same in both the Greek and the Hebrew, with his accession in the second year of Asa and a reign of two years. We give below the pattern of these reigns together with the number of years involved:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
<i>Rehoboam</i>																	<i>Abijam</i>			<i>Asa</i>					
(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	(1)	(2)	3
(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	(18)	19	20	21	22	23	(24)	(1)	2
<i>Jeroboam</i>																									<i>Nadab</i>

The simplicity of this pattern in the Greek texts is not without its appeal. There is no beginning of the regnal year at one season of the year in Judah and another season in Israel, no accession-year reckoning in one nation and nonaccession-year reckoning in the other. Such a reckoning of reigns is a chronologist's delight.

As the Greek data for this period are examined, however, it will be noticed that there are certain inconsistencies. For instance, the official length of Jeroboam's reign is given as twenty-two years, but the accession of Asa is synchronized with Jeroboam's twenty-fourth year.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of this Greek pattern is the method of reckoning the reigns. It will be noticed that the accession of each ruler is synchronized with the year following the last official year of the previous ruler. Rehoboam reigned seventeen years but his successor Abijam came to the throne in the following year, the eighteenth year of Jeroboam. Abijam ruled six years, his last year synchronizing with the twenty-third year of Jeroboam, but he was not succeeded by Asa till the twenty-fourth year of Jeroboam. According to the accession-year system, the final year of a ruler becomes the accession year of his successor, and the next year becomes the first official year of the new king. According to the non-accession-year system the final year of a king becomes the first official year of his successor, with the next year the second official year of his reign.

The system used in the above pattern of the Greek texts, however, is neither the accession- nor the nonaccession-year system, but

a new and very unusual method of reckoning. At first glance this system looks precisely like the accession-year system, for the year following the last official year of a king becomes the first official year of his successor, which is exactly what we find in the accession-year system. But according to the true accession-year system, a new king has his accession synchronized with the last official year of his predecessor, whereas according to the novel Greek system it is synchronized with the following year. Thus, according to true accession-year reckoning followed in the Hebrew pattern, Rehoboam ruled seventeen years and was succeeded by Abijam in that same seventeenth year, not the following year. But according to the novel system employed in the Greek texts, Abijam did not begin his reign in the seventeenth and final official year of Rehoboam, but in the following year, and that year was termed the first official year of his reign. Thus the Greek and the Hebrew systems are alike in terming the year following the final year of a king the first year of his successor. But in this novel Greek system a king never has a year actually termed his "accession year," since the year of his accession is the first official year of his reign. This unusual Greek system which appears so deceptively like the accession-year system but which never actually has an accession year may be termed "inconsequent accession-year reckoning."³ Whether the Hebrews ever used such a sys-

3. Similar to this mode of reckoning found in the Greek texts is a system which certain modern scholars have suggested in an endeavor to clear up some of the perplexing problems that arise in connection with the data concerning the synchronisms and lengths of reign. According to this system, the year termed the "accession year" of a king is not the year in which he actually came to the throne but the following year—his first complete year of reign—and the so-called "first" or "regnal" year is not actually his first but his second complete year. Löf entitied this method of reckoning "uneigentliche Post-Datierung," and Chapman gave it the title, "inconsequent post-dating" (see Gustav Löf, "Das synchronistische System der Königsbücher," *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, XLIII [1900], 170; and W. J. Chapman, "The Problem of Inconsequent Post-dating in II Kings XV.13, 17 and 23," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II [1925], 57). While Chapman believes that this system was in actual use at the time of Pekah and also at the time of Jehoash of Israel and that it was adopted by Ahaz of Judah, Löf ascribes it to nothing more than blundering efforts on the part of certain Exilic synchronists to deal with difficulties encountered by them in their endeavor to make reigns originally figured on a nonaccession-year basis fit in with an accession-year scheme employed by them and thrown back into the earlier periods of Hebrew history. It will be recognized that the effect of such a system would be to add a year to every reign figured upon such a basis, and it is the view of Löf that the system was invented for just such a purpose of securing an extra year and that, if we are today desirous of securing the correct length of the reign of a king, it is necessary to deduct a year for every reign thus reckoned.

tem as this for reckoning the reigns of their kings, or whether the system had its origin in an attempt to adapt the data of Judah based upon accession-year reckoning, to the data of Israel based upon non-accession-year reckoning, is a question which will be considered later in this chapter.

Continuing our chronology of the Greek texts, we find that the figures for Baasha are the same in the Greek as they are in the Hebrew, with his accession in the third year of Asa and a reign of twenty-four years. The reign of Baasha and the accession of his successor Elah appear as follows:

25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51		
<i>Asa</i>																												
(2)	(3)	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
(1)	2																											
<i>Nadab</i>																												
(ac)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	(1)			
<i>Baasha</i>																								<i>Elah</i>				

One item that will be immediately noticed here is that when the accession of Baasha is synchronized with the third year of Asa, this is in accordance with the true accession-year system, for the second and last year of Nadab likewise synchronizes with the third year of Asa. The official first year of Baasha thus is the year following the second and final year of Nadab, and that year synchronizes with the fourth year of Asa. If inconsequent accession-year reckoning had here been employed, this fourth year of Asa would still have been the official first year of Baasha, but Baasha's accession would in that case have been synchronized with the fourth rather than the third year of Asa.

With Baasha's first year synchronizing with Asa's fourth year, either according to accession- or inconsequent accession-year reckoning, his twenty-fourth and final year synchronizes with the twenty-seventh year of Asa. When, then, shall we place the accession of Elah, successor of Baasha? If the accession-year system is used, Elah's accession will synchronize with the twenty-seventh year of Asa; if inconsequent accession-year reckoning is used, it will synchronize with the twenty-eighth year. It is of interest to note that both LXX and Luc. synchronize Elah's accession with the twentieth year of Asa, but there are numerous Greek manuscripts which synchronize it with Asa's twenty-eighth year. The Hebrew synchronism is the twenty-sixth year.

Why Elah's accession should have been synchronized with Asa's twentieth year raises some interesting problems. It has already been

noted that on the Greek pattern we have been following, Baasha's twenty-fourth and final year synchronizes with the twenty-seventh year of Asa. If Elah came to the throne in Asa's twentieth year, his second and final year would synchronize with Asa's twenty-first year, and in such a case we would have Baasha continuing to reign six years after the termination of the reign of his son Elah. After Elah came Zimri with a reign of seven days according to MT. and LXX, and then came the accession of Omri in the thirty-first year of Asa according to both the Greek and the Hebrew texts. If Elah's two-year reign began in the literal twentieth year of Asa, and if Baasha's reign terminated in Asa's twenty-seventh year and Omri did not begin his reign till Asa's thirty-first year, then whose reign shall we place in this three-year interval? The following graph illustrates our problem:

<i>Asa</i>	(20)	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	(31)
<i>Baasha</i>	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	?	?	?	(1)
<i>Elah</i>	(1)	2	<i>Zimri</i> ??					<i>Omri</i>				

It should be noted that while LXX places the accession of Elah in the twentieth year of Asa, it has no synchronism for Zimri's accession. Luc., on the other hand, while also synchronizing Elah's accession with the twentieth year of Asa, synchronizes Zimri's accession with Asa's twenty-second year, but has no data concerning the length of Zimri's reign. Still other Greek manuscripts synchronize Elah's accession with the twenty-eighth year of Asa. These differences in the data of the Greek manuscripts at this point clearly indicate uncertainties and differences of opinion concerning this part of the chronological pattern. Part of this uncertainty is no doubt due to questions concerning Tibni who ruled over part of the land of Israel during this period, but concerning whose accession and length of reign no data are given.

When LXX synchronized the accession of Elah with the twentieth year of Asa, did it intend this as a definite or an indefinite number? If this was intended as a definite number, then after Elah's two years of reign, the accession of Zimri should be synchronized with the twenty-second year of Asa. But LXX has no synchronism for Zimri's accession, thus indicating its indefiniteness regarding that item, and thus likewise indicating the fact that when it placed Elah's accession in the twentieth year of Asa, this was merely intended as a round number.

When Luc. synchronized the accession of Elah with the twentieth year of Asa, he clearly intended this as a definite number, as is indi-

cated by his synchronizing Zimri's accession, after Elah's two-year reign, with Asa's twenty-second year, and by his omission of any data concerning the length of Zimri's reign. The reason for the latter is obvious, for if Zimri came to the throne in the twenty-second year of Asa, and if he was deposed by Omri at the time of the latter's accession in the thirty-first year of Asa, then the length of Zimri's reign would have been nine years instead of seven days as it is given in MT. and LXX. The omission by Luc. of any data concerning the length of the reign of Zimri indicates his uncertainty concerning this point. The following illustrates the pattern of Luc. for this period:

<i>Asa</i>	(20)	21	(22)	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	(31)
<i>Baasha</i>	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24				
<i>Elah</i>	(1)	2	(1)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	(1)

Zimri *Omri*

When other Greek manuscripts synchronize Elah's accession with the twenty-eighth rather than the twentieth year of Asa, they are following a consistent pattern for this period, for with all reigns reckoned according to the inconsequent accession-year system, Omri's accession will synchronize exactly with the thirty-first year of Asa. Let us notice the pattern for this period according to such a reconstruction:

Asa
20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 (28) 29 30 (31)
17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 (1) 2 (1) (1)
Baasha *Elah* *Zimri Omri*

Regardless of how we handle the exact details of the reigns of Elah and Zimri, this problem of the Greek scribes is of no further consequence when we come to the reign of Omri, for the Greek sources here agree with the Hebrew in synchronizing Omri's accession with the thirty-first year of Asa. We will therefore continue our pattern of the Greek texts from the point where we terminated our previous reconstruction, the fifty-first year after the disruption, the twenty-eighth year of Asa, and the first year of Elah. The reconstruction for the ensuing period up to the accession of Ahab would be as follows:

[illegible]

All three sources give Omri a reign of twelve years, and all place his accession in the thirty-first year of Asa. Omri was succeeded by Ahab whose accession according to the Hebrew took place in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, but according to the Greek, in the second year of Jehoshaphat. The Hebrew synchronizes Jehoshaphat's accession with the fourth year of Ahab, but the Greek texts synchronize it with the eleventh year of Omri, although LXX also has the synchronism of the fourth year of Ahab together with the eleventh year of Omri. It will be noticed that the Greek pattern for these reigns differs considerably from that of the Hebrew, but the fact that LXX retains the synchronism of the fourth year of Ahab indicates that it was acquainted with this datum of MT.

It will be observed that the accession of Jehoshaphat when synchronized with the eleventh year of Omri is reckoned according to the true accession-year method. With the exception of Baasha whose reign was also reckoned according to the true accession-year system, all other reigns so far in both Israel and Judah have, on the basis of the Greek data, been reckoned according to the inconsequent accession-year system. With the twenty-fourth and final year of Baasha terminating in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, Elah's accession according to this system synchronizes with the twenty-eighth year of Asa. Since Elah reigned two years, his second and final year, according to this same system, synchronized with the twenty-ninth year of Asa, which would cause Zimri's accession to synchronize with Asa's thirtieth year. According to LXX and MT., Zimri had a reign of only seven days, to be followed by Omri in the thirty-first year of Asa. Thus the brief seven-day reign of Zimri and likewise the reigns of Omri and Ahab are all reckoned according to the inconsequent accession-year system.

Up to the present we have been following a pattern for the kings in which LXX and Luc. are in essential agreement. From this point on, however, they differ. LXX agrees with MT. in synchronizing the accession of the next king of Israel, Ahaziah, with the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, but Luc. has for this a synchronism distinctly his own, the twenty-fourth year of Jehoshaphat. For the accession of Joram in Israel, the Hebrew has two synchronisms, the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat and the second year of Jehoram of Judah. LXX follows the former and Luc. the latter. According to the Hebrew, Jehoram in Judah had a reign of eight years. Luc. has the same figure, but in LXX the number is forty. For the accession of Ahaziah in Judah, the Hebrew again has two synchronisms, the

eleventh and the twelfth years of Joram in Israel. LXX gives both of these synchronisms, but Luc. gives only the former. Both LXX and Luc. are in agreement with MT. as to the lengths of the following reigns for this period: Jehoshaphat, twenty-five years; Ahab, twenty-two years; Ahaziah in Israel, two years; Joram in Israel, twelve years; and Ahaziah in Judah, one year. The following is the pattern of LXX and Luc. for the early part of this period, the section in which they are both agreed:

	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80
<i>Asa</i>	41																
<i>Jehoshaphat</i>	(ac)	1	(2)	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<i>Omri</i>	(11)	12	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
<i>Ahab</i>																	

Going on from the above, we continue the patterns of LXX and Luc. for the period of their disagreements, with that of Luc. containing a number of deficiencies as concerns the reign of Jehoram of Judah:

PATTERN OF LXX																	
	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93				
						<i>Jehoram</i>						<i>Abaziah J</i>					
						(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7					
<i>Jehoshaphat</i>	(17)	(18)	19	20	21	22	23	24	25			(ac)	1				
<i>Ahab</i>	16	17	18	19	20	21	22							1	<i>Athaliah</i>		
<i>Abaziah Is.</i>	(1)	2												1	<i>Jehu</i>		
		(1)	2	3	4	(5)	6	7	8	9	10	(11)	12				
						<i>Joram</i>											

PATTERN OF LUC.																							
81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101			
<i>Jehoshaphat</i>								<i>Jehoram</i>												<i>Abaziah J</i>			
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	(24)	25														<i>Athaliah</i>	
								1	(2)	3	4	5	6	7	8	?	?	?	(1)	1			
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	(1)	2	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(11)	12			
<i>Ahab</i>								<i>Abaziah Is.</i>												1			
								<i>Joram</i>												<i>Jehu</i>			

As these patterns of reigns for this period are examined, it will be noted that there is nothing unusual about the early portion of this period, that covering the first sixteen years of Jehoshaphat and the first fifteen years of Ahab. On that portion LXX and Luc. are in agreement. But for the next section there are some items about the pattern of LXX which are somewhat unusual. When the accession of Ahaziah in Israel is synchronized with the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, his reign begins in the sixteenth year of Ahab and terminates in the seventeenth year. And when the accession of Joram in Israel is synchronized with the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, it

begins in the seventeenth year of Ahab, with the result that the first six years of Joram overlap the last six years of Ahab. On the pattern of Luc., however, it is noticed that the accession of Ahaziah is synchronized not with the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat but with his twenty-fourth year. That is the year following the termination of the reign of Ahab. So on this pattern of Luc. the reign of Ahaziah follows that of Ahab rather than falling in the midst of the reign of his father, as is the case according to the pattern of LXX. The accession of Joram in Israel is synchronized with the second year of Jehoram in Judah rather than with the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat as it is in LXX, thus causing the reign of Joram to follow the reign of Ahaziah rather than to overlap the last six years of Ahab as it does on the pattern of LXX. It will be readily admitted that this pattern of Luc. for this period appears to be a distinct improvement in a number of respects over that of LXX. But it also has a number of serious deficiencies in connection with the reign of Jehoram of Judah, for this king according to the pattern here presented has a reign of eleven years rather than eight and his accession takes place in the second year of Ahaziah rather than the fifth year of Joram.

The figure "forty" in LXX for the years of Jehoram in Judah should be noted. If this figure is intended as a definite number for the reign of Jehoram, Jehoram in Judah began his reign in the fifth year of Joram of Israel, and Joram had reigned twelve years when he was overthrown by Jehu. That would mean that Jehoram in Judah had ruled only seven or eight years at the time when Jehu slew Joram in Israel and Ahaziah in Judah, and if his reign was actually forty years in length, he still had thirty-two years more to rule when Athaliah slew all the seed royal in Judah and took the throne. In such a case Jehoram would have continued to hold the throne during the entire reign of Athaliah and during the greater part of the reign of Joash. That of course is preposterous, and it therefore seems clear that the figure "forty" in LXX for the length of the reign of Jehoram is intended as a round number to indicate uncertainty. Many Greek manuscripts have the number ten in this instance, again in all probability intended as a round number to indicate uncertainty, but much more in accord with the correct figure than forty. How long was the reign of Jehoram? With his accession synchronized with the fifth year of Joram of Israel, and with the accession of Ahaziah synchronized with the eleventh year of Joram, Jehoram would have ruled either six or seven years in Judah. If the reign of Ahaziah is reckoned according to the accession-year system,

then according to the pattern of LXX, Jehoram had a reign of seven years; if Ahaziah's reign is reckoned according to inconsequent accession-year reckoning, then Jehoram had a reign of six years. But did Ahaziah begin his reign in the eleventh year of Joram? What if he began it according to the other synchronism, Joram's twelfth year? Then the length of Jehoram's reign would be eight years. Such uncertainties which might have been in the mind of a Greek scribe concerning the length of Jehoram's reign give us some idea of the probable reason for the use of the number "forty" in this instance.

In the period we have just covered, from the beginning of the disruption to the termination of the reigns of Ahaziah in Judah and Joram in Israel and the seizure of power by Athaliah in Judah and by Jehu in Israel, it will be recognized that the variant data for the kings found in the Greek texts give us a pattern of reigns quite distinct from that occurring in the Massoretic text. A number of inconsistencies, internal discrepancies, and chronological oddities occur, some of which we have not paused to mention. But on the whole there is a definite chronological outline based upon data calling for a pattern of reigns quite distinct from that called for by the data of the Massoretic text. For the greater part of the period surveyed, the pattern of Luc. has been identical with that of LXX. But in the latter part of this period the chronological outline of Luc. differs considerably from that of LXX, with the pattern of LXX in turn being quite different from that of MT. It must be admitted that in this latter period where Luc. varies from LXX, the pattern of Luc. appears to have certain decided advantages over that of LXX, at least as concerns the reigns of Ahaziah and Joram in Israel.

Before going further into the question of the relative merits of these various patterns of reigns, let us note one further variation in Luc. from MT. It is rather singular that in the long and difficult period from the time of Athaliah and Jehu to the end of the Northern Kingdom, the chronological data of the Greek texts are on the whole identical with those of the Hebrew. One final variation occurs in Luc., which gives the length of Pekahiah's reign as ten years against two years in MT. It will be recalled that the chronology of this period of Pekahiah and his successors is the most difficult in Hebrew history. It is thus entirely possible that the use of the number "ten" in Luc. is for the sake of indicating some indefiniteness and uncertainty regarding the exact number of years involved. If, however, this figure indicates a specific number of years, the reigns might be arranged as follows:

simplicity and uniformity are the criteria which will decide the question of authenticity, then the decision must be in favor of the Greek. But how do we know that the Hebrews used the simple methods of chronological procedure that we might wish to ascribe to them? It certainly is theoretically possible that Israel and Judah used exactly the same methods of reckoning the reigns of their kings, and that the reconstructed chronological pattern might be as simple as it is in the Greek texts. But on the other hand, it is just as possible that there was no uniformity of chronological procedure in the Northern and Southern Kingdoms—that one nation used one system and the other another, that in one nation the regnal year was begun at one season of the year and in the other at another, that shifts in the methods of reckoning took place, and that other complexities entered into the picture which were not specifically set forth in the records that have come down to us. Just what took place is not something which we can settle upon *a priori*. What we must do is to carefully weigh all the available evidence and decide accordingly.

The question for us to determine is, which one of three distinct chronological patterns, MT., LXX, or Luc., gives evidence of being the earliest and most nearly in accord with the facts of ancient Near Eastern history? One of these patterns has figures which appear to be in hopeless contradiction to each other. The other two have figures which present a much simpler and seemingly more harmonious arrangement. Does any one of these groups of figures give evidence of having been in existence before the others? If the original numbers were those of the Septuagint, can we explain the numbers in the Hebrew as an outgrowth from those in the Greek? Or if the original figures were those of the Massoretic text, can we explain the numbers in the Greek as an outgrowth from the Hebrew? And as between LXX and Luc., can we explain the variations in LXX as growing from the pattern in Luc., or can the numbers in Luc. be explained as having come from those in LXX?

As far as time is concerned, certainly the Hebrew text, or shall we say *some* Hebrew text, was in existence before the Greek. In the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, the Septuagint was translated from the Hebrew. The questions we face are whether the figures now found in the Septuagint were those found in certain very early and reliable Hebrew manuscripts and whether we now possess those early figures in better form in the Greek than in the present Hebrew text, or whether the figures now found in the Massoretic text are the figures which were found in the earliest and

most correct Hebrew manuscripts, and whether or not those numbers underwent later modification, to come down to us in the form in which they now appear in the Septuagint.

In the attempt to ascertain the facts let us compare the chronological pattern of LXX with that of MT. and see which gives evidence of having been in existence first. The many similarities between the figures of LXX and MT. give evidence that either the Greek is a modification of the Hebrew pattern, or the Hebrew is a modification of the Greek. Of these two patterns, that of MT. is by far the more complex. Is it this very complicated pattern which best portrays the reigns of the Hebrew kings as they actually were, and did scholars of some later time—because of their failure to recognize the basic harmony underlying the apparently contradictory Hebrew figures—come to the conclusion that those figures were erroneous and in need of correction, and in their efforts toward this end produce a new pattern which is now found in the figures of LXX? Or were the reigns of the Hebrew kings more in accord with the comparatively simple chronological pattern now found in LXX, and did the exceedingly complicated pattern of reigns now found in MT. grow out of the simple pattern of LXX? Certainly we would face an exceedingly difficult task to explain how the intricate Hebrew pattern could have developed from the simple Greek. What scholar or what group of scholars would have had the time or possessed the skill to produce from the figures in the Greek text the marvelously harmonious but exceedingly intricate pattern of reigns now appearing in the Hebrew? And what would have been the incentive to have prompted the undertaking of such a task?

If, however, the Hebrew figures were first, we may well understand how scholars at some early time might have failed to see the basic harmony behind the apparently contradictory figures, and how such a misconception as to the basic nature of the numbers involved could have given rise to an attempt to produce a more harmonious pattern than was considered possible from the Hebrew data.

Let us notice the area where these Greek variations are found. From a chronological point of view the history of the Hebrew monarchies may be divided into two periods, the first beginning with the schism and extending to the deaths of Ahaziah and Joram at the hand of Jehu, and the second beginning with the accession of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah and going on to the termination of the Northern Kingdom. Regardless of any chronological data regarding synchronisms and lengths of reign, it is known that the first

of these periods is identical in length for both Judah and Israel, for the period begins with the accessions of Rehoboam in Judah and Jeroboam in Israel, and it terminates with the murders of Joram in Israel and Ahaziah in Judah at the hands of Jehu. The second of these periods begins with the assumption of power of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah, but there is no specific event to mark the termination of this period for both Israel and Judah. In Israel there is the fall of Samaria, but in Judah there is not an event but the synchronism of II Kings 18:10.

Is it not rather singular that all the variations in LXX from MT. should be confined to this period from the schism to Jehu, and that this should likewise be true with Luc., with the single exception of the variant figure for the length of Pekahiah's reign? If we regard the Greek figures as essentially right and the Hebrew figures as hopelessly wrong, why did all the Hebrew blundering take place in the chronological period before Jehu and Athaliah? If it is true that the Hebrew figures had become corrupt and were in need of correction, and if it is also true that the Greek variants are in the nature of a real improvement upon the figures of the Massoretic text, then why is it that the Hebrew area of inexactitudes was restricted to the period terminating with the reigns of Joram and Ahaziah, or why is it that the Greek improvements do not include the period after Jehu and Athaliah as well as before? Let us remember that it is in the second, not the first, of these sections of Hebrew history where the greatest chronological difficulties are found. But there, for some strange reason, the figures of LXX are identical with those of MT. It will be recalled that it is in the closing period of the divided monarchies where the grievous difficulties involving Pattern Twelve-Thirteen and the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10 are found. But those synchronisms appear in the Greek texts the same as in the Hebrew. If either LXX or Luc. had any contributions to make in the way of improving the chronological data of the Massoretic text, then why did they not occur in the one place where they might have been of service? In the only place where the Greek texts might have helped they failed to help, and in those places where no help was needed, there the variations are found. Certainly there must be some reason for the restriction of the pattern of Greek variants to the area before Jehu and Athaliah.

Let us bear in mind that the period from the establishment of the divided monarchies to the assumption of Jehu in Israel and Athaliah in Judah involved the same number of years for both nations. But

let us also recall that in the recorded data in the Massoretic text for this period, the total years for the kings of Judah from Rehoboam to the death of Ahaziah is ninety-five, whereas the total for Israel from Jeroboam to the death of Joram is ninety-eight. Why should this figure for Judah be three years less than it is for Israel? Unless the peculiarities of chronological procedure in the Northern and Southern Kingdoms as previously explained were understood, the natural conclusion would be that somewhere in this area a mistake of three years had been made concerning some length of reign. And is it not rather singular that in both LXX and Luc. the reign of Abijam in Judah appears as three years longer in the Greek texts than it does in the Hebrew, the figure being six years in the Greek as against three in the Hebrew? This is the only variation that appears in Luc. for the length of reign of any king in this period. In LXX an additional variation is found, the number forty instead of eight for the years of Jehoram in Judah, a figure intended no doubt to indicate some sort of indefiniteness rather than to be used as an exact figure. The increase of the years of Abijam from three to six looks strangely like an attempt at adjustment of a length of reign to make possible the same total of years for Judah in this period as for Israel.

To secure equal totals for the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms, it would be necessary to follow the same method of reckoning in both nations. Earlier in this volume it was shown that the chronological data for the kings after the schism reveals the totals of Israel increasing by one year over Judah for each reign—definite evidence of the use of the nonaccession-year system in Israel and of the accession-year system in Judah. If during the period here under review Israel and Judah made use of these two systems of reckoning, the totals for the period would certainly not be the same. Such a fact, however, would not be understood unless the methods of reckoning originally used were understood. Having, as we do, evidence in the Hebrew numbers of the use of the accession-year system in Judah and of the nonaccession-year system in Israel, and in the Greek numbers of inconsequent accession-year reckoning in both nations, the question before us is whether the Greek or the Hebrew data best represent the original system of reckoning actually used by the Hebrew kings. If the kings of both Israel and Judah actually reckoned their reigns according to the comparatively simple system found in the Greek texts, how then would we account for the variant figures which later found their way into the Hebrew text? Certainly no scribe of a later period having before him such a simple and seemingly harmonious pattern of reigns as is found in the Greek

data would rework those data into the very complex pattern required by the Hebrew figures. But having before him the original Hebrew figures, might some scribe of a later period be led into an endeavor to readapt the original pattern based upon accession-year reckoning in Judah and nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel, into one of inconsequent accession-year reckoning in both countries? Let us examine the data.

Rehoboam and Jeroboam began their reigns at the same time. According to the Hebrew figures Rehoboam ruled seventeen years and Jeroboam twenty-two. Rehoboam was succeeded by his son Abijam in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam. Let us notice the following very simple pattern for these reigns:

<i>Rehoboam</i>																	<i>Abijam</i>		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	(1)	2	3
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	(18)	19	20
<i>Jeroboam</i>																			

At first glance, not knowing anything about accession-year reckoning in Judah or nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel, or regnal years beginning with Tishri in Judah and Nisan in Israel, it would seem that the above must be the pattern according to which the Hebrew kings reckoned their reigns. Since Rehoboam and Jeroboam began to reign at the same time, the first year of Rehoboam would synchronize with the first year of Jeroboam, and the seventeenth and last year of Rehoboam would synchronize with the seventeenth year of Jeroboam. After his reign of seventeen years, Rehoboam was succeeded by Abijam in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam. That, in the pattern just presented, is the year following the seventeenth and last year of Rehoboam. But when we synchronize Abijam's accession with such an eighteenth year of Jeroboam, what system of reckoning are we following? The inconsequent accession-year system. According to true accession-year reckoning, the year when Abijam came to the throne—his true accession year—would synchronize with the seventeenth and last official year of Rehoboam. And inasmuch as Abijam came to the throne in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam, that would require that this eighteenth year of Jeroboam synchronize with the seventeenth year of Rehoboam, and that would demand nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel as against accession-year reckoning in Judah. According to such a pattern these reigns would appear as follows:

<i>Solomon</i>																	<i>Abijam</i>		
40																	(ac)	1	2
<i>Rehoboam</i>																			
ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17		
<i>Jeroboam</i>																			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	(18)	19	20

It will be noticed that according to this method of reckoning, the year when Abijam came to the throne was the year in which the death of his father took place, but according to the pattern followed in the Greek texts the accession of Abijam did not occur until the year after his father's death, thus leaving Judah a year without a king. It will also be noticed that according to the system actually in use among the Hebrews, the eighteenth year of Jeroboam synchronized with the seventeenth year of Rehoboam, whereas according to the deceptive Greek system, the eighteenth year of Jeroboam came one year after the death of Rehoboam. Thus the Greek texts in their employment of inconsequent accession-year reckoning for Abijam were guilty of two errors, (1) they placed the accession of Abijam one year too late, and (2) they placed the years of Jeroboam one year in advance of their true position in relation to the years of Rehoboam.

As inconsequent accession-year reckoning is examined, it will be found to be a system that, to the casual observer, looks well enough on paper, but which is not in harmony with the facts—not the kind of system that a nation would employ in actual practice, but exactly the kind of system that one might expect a group of well-meaning but uninformed revisors of a later period to devise in their endeavor to bring about harmony in the seemingly contradictory data of the Hebrew kings. Such the evidence clearly reveals it to be.

As we examine the chronological data of the Greek texts, it will be noticed that most of the variations from the Hebrew have to deal with synchronisms rather than lengths of reign. These variations may be summarized as shown below.

Let us briefly observe these variant figures to see what indications they might give concerning their origin. The first variant is that in regard to the reign of Abijam which is three years in the Hebrew

DISRUPTION TO JEHU						
King	MASSORETIC TEXT		VARIATIONS IN LXX		VARIATIONS IN LXX.	
	Length of Reign	Synchronism	Length of Reign	Synchronism	Length of Reign	Synchronism
Abijam	3 years		6 years		6 years	
Asa		20th of Jeroboam		24th of Jeroboam		24th of Jeroboam
Elah		26th of Asa		20th of Asa		20th of Asa
Zimri	7 days	27th of Asa		Wanting	Wanting	22d of Asa
Ahab		38th of Asa		2d of Jehoshaphat		2d of Jehoshaphat
Jehoshaphat		4th of Ahab		11th of Omri		11th of Omri
Ahasiah I		17th of Jehoshaphat		4th of Ahab		24th of Jehoshaphat
Joram		2d of Jehoram		18th of Jehoshaphat		
Jehoram	8 years	18th of Jehoshaphat	40 years			2d of Jehoram
Ahasiah J.		12th of Joram				11th of Joram
AFTER JEHU						
Pekabiah	2 years				10 years	

and six years in the Greek. We have already noticed how, if the length of the reign of Jehoram is allowed to remain at eight years as it is in MT., this increase of three years in the length of Abijam's reign makes possible equal totals for the kings of the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms from the schism to Jehu and Athaliah. It is entirely possible that it was for just such a purpose that this adjustment was made. The next variation is the synchronism for Asa's accession, this being the twenty-fourth year of Jeroboam in the Greek as against the twentieth year in the Hebrew. This variation was made necessary by the increase in the length of Abijam's reign from three years to six, and the reckoning of these regins according to the inconsequent accession-year system. Under the Greek arrangement only this new synchronism will fit.

Next comes the synchronism of Elah's accession in the twentieth year of Asa as against the twenty-sixth year in the Hebrew. According to inconsequent accession-year reckoning, the pattern for this period calls for Elah's accession in the twenty-eighth year of Asa, and that is the synchronism appearing in many Greek manuscripts. We have already given the reasons why the figure twenty could not here be intended as a definite number and how its use at this point is no doubt indicative of indefiniteness and uncertainty. Such uncertainty would in itself be a clear indication of lateness of origin. In the Hebrew figures for the kings of the divided monarchies there is never uncertainty, here or at any other point. The numbers are always specific, and with their meaning once understood, they fit perfectly together into a harmonious pattern. But with the reconstructed patterns of the Greek texts this is not the case. Behind the simplicity of pattern and seeming harmoniousness of design, there is actually much of incongruity, considerable cause for uncertainty, and definite evidence of confusion. Let us notice the following pattern for this period from Baasha to Omri:

Asa

(3) 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19

(ac)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----	----	----	----	----

Baasha

20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 (31)

17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 1 2 1 (1)

Elab Zimri

Omri

This pattern, it should be noted, is neither entirely according to the patterns of either LXX or Luc. It is according to both in placing the accession of Baasha in the third year of Asa, and that of Omri in

the thirty-first year of Asa, these synchronisms being in agreement with MT. But for the intervening period LXX and Luc. do not agree with either MT. or with each other. The latter alone should be definite evidence of confusion. Let it be made clear that the above is not the pattern of MT. for this period. The Massoretic text places the accession of Elah in the twenty-sixth year of Asa (I Kings 16:8), and that of Zimri in Asa's twenty-seventh year (I Kings 16:15). Since Zimri came to the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, that must also be the time when Omri first began to reign, for the record is to the effect that when the army first received word of Zimri's assumption of power, it made Omri king, and that after only a short reign of seven days Omri deposed Zimri and ruled over Israel (I Kings 16:16-18). But the record also clearly states that at this time Tibni ruled as a rival king over half the nation (I Kings 16:21), and after the death of Tibni, Omri's official accession is placed in the thirty-first year of Asa (I Kings 16:22, 23)—that being the year when he began to reign over the whole nation of Israel. It is evident that both LXX and Luc. had difficulty in putting the above facts together into a harmonious pattern, and their uncertainty and confusion is reflected in their variant data for this period.

Once the above facts concerning the arrangement of reigns for this period are understood, the data of MT. fit together into a perfectly harmonious pattern. But if these facts are not understood, the impression will be that the data of MT. must be in error. That evidently was the impression of LXX when the first variations were made. In LXX no endeavor was made to solve this part of the problem, but its uncertainty was reflected by the insertion of the round number twenty as the year of Elah's accession and the omission of any synchronism for the year when Zimri began to reign. Luc., on the other hand, with LXX before him, accepted the figure twenty in LXX as a definite number rather than the round number it was intended to be, as is shown by his synchronizing the accession of Zimri, after Elah's two years of reign, with the twenty-second year of Asa. It was thus that this variant in Luc. came into being. This of course constitutes positive evidence of the lateness of the pattern of Luc. as compared with that of LXX. Having placed the accession of Zimri as early as the twenty-second year of Asa instead of the twenty-seventh year as it is in MT., Luc. next reflected his uncertainty concerning the length of Zimri's reign by omitting any data in that regard. The Hebrew gives Zimri a reign of only seven days, and the record is clearly to the effect that the army with Omri at its

head did away with Zimri almost immediately after his seizure of the throne. But according to the pattern being followed by Luc., with Zimri's accession taking place in the twenty-second year of Asa and Omri not coming to the throne till Asa's thirty-first year, Zimri would have had a reign of nine years rather than seven days. But such a reign would be so definitely out of harmony with the facts recorded, that rather than insert such a figure, Luc. left a blank concerning the length of Zimri's reign. In all these variations in both LXX and Luc. we find evidence of uncertainty and confusion, and of the lateness of these patterns as compared with that of the Hebrew text.

The next two variations in the Greek texts are the synchronisms for the accessions of Ahab and Jehoshaphat. These are considerably different from the data of the Hebrew, for MT. synchronizes the accession of Ahab with the thirty-eighth year of Asa, while both LXX and Luc. synchronize it with the second year of Jehoshaphat. The Hebrew places the beginning of Jehoshaphat's reign in the fourth year of Ahab, while the Greek texts synchronize it with the eleventh of Omri, although LXX also retains the synchronism of the fourth of Ahab. With a glance at the following pattern of the Greek texts for this period, it will be immediately apparent how these variations arose:

<i>Asa</i>											<i>Jehoshaphat</i>		
(31)	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40		41		
(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(11)	12	(1)	(2)
<i>Omri</i>											<i>Ahab</i>		

Synchronizing the beginning of Omri's reign with the thirty-first year of Asa, the eleventh year of Omri would synchronize with the forty-first and last year of Asa. That was the year, according to accession-year reckoning, when Jehoshaphat came to the throne. So in the Greek texts the accession of Jehoshaphat was synchronized with the eleventh year of Omri. Up to the present only one other king on the Greek pattern has had his reign reckoned according to the true accession-year system, Baasha of Israel. We do not know the reason why the reign of Jehoshaphat in Judah should also be reckoned according to the accession-year system when inconsequent accession-year reckoning is the usual method employed by the Greek scribes, but such exceptions to the regular rule are further indications that these reigns were not reckoned by official court recorders. According to this pattern the twelfth and last year of Omri

would synchronize with the first year of Jehoshaphat, and the accession of Ahab—reckoned according to the usual inconsequent accession-year system—would synchronize with the second year of Jehoshaphat. It was thus that this variant figure of LXX and Luc. for the accession of Ahab came into being.

It will be recalled that the pattern followed by the Massoretic text for this period was considerably different from the pattern of the Greek texts. This pattern was as follows:⁴

	<i>Asa</i>																<i>Jehoshaphat</i>			
	(27)	28	29	30	(31)	32	33	34	35	36	37	(38)	39	40	41					
<i>Zimri</i>	(1)															(ac)				
<i>Tibni</i>	1	2	3	4	5							(1)	2	3	(4)					
<i>Omri</i>	1	2	3	4	(5)	6	7	8	9	10	11	12								
																<i>Ahab</i>				

As the details of this pattern are examined, it will be found to meet all the requirements of the data in the Massoretic text. The accession of Zimri took place in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (I Kings 16:15). As soon as the army, then encamped against the Philistines, heard that Zimri had seized the throne, it made its captain Omri king (I Kings 16:15, 16). The army thereupon marched against Zimri and brought an end to his reign, which gave him only seven days upon the throne (I Kings 16:15–18). Since Zimri had come to the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Asa and inasmuch as Omri was made king at the same time, the synchronism for Omri's accession must necessarily also be the twenty-seventh year of Asa. Omri, however, did not at this time rule over all the land of Israel, for the rival king Tibni ruled over half the land (I Kings 16:21). No information is given as to Tibni's accession or the length of his reign. But the statement is made that, "the people that followed Omri prevailed against the people that followed Tibni the son of Ginath: so Tibni died, and Omri reigned" (I Kings 16:22). In the following verse comes the synchronism for Omri's accession; namely, the thirty-first year of Asa (I Kings 16:23). The meaning is obvious, that it was in the thirty-first year of Asa that Omri mastered the forces of Tibni and became king over all Israel, although he had begun to rule over part of the land in the year when he first was made king at the time of Zimri's conspiracy, the twenty-seventh year of Asa.

Omri ruled twelve years (I Kings 16:23). Did this figure apply to

4. Although the pattern here given contains the basic features concerning the reigns of this period as based upon the Massoretic text, it should be noted that it has been somewhat simplified. Such items as Tishri-to-Tishri regnal years in Judah and Nisan-to-Nisan regnal years in Israel, together with some other items, have been omitted. To get the full and completely exact pattern for this period, the chart at p. 74 should be consulted.

the total length of his reign, from the time when he was first made king in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, or did it apply only to that portion of his reign which began in the thirty-first year of Asa, when he became undisputed ruler over all the land? If this twelve-year reign began in Asa's twenty-seventh year, it terminated in Asa's thirty-eighth year, and that would then be the year of Ahab's accession. That is exactly the year where the Hebrew places the accession of Ahab. Let it be noticed, moreover, that all reigns for Israel—from the beginning of its history—have been reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system, and that this is the case during this period. Asa ruled forty-one years when he was succeeded by his son Jehoshaphat. Again let it be remembered that Judah since the beginning of its history has been using the accession-year system, so the year of Jehoshaphat's accession synchronizes with the forty-first and last year of Asa. Since Ahab came to the throne in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, his fourth year would synchronize with the forty-first and last year of Asa, and thus the accession of Jehoshaphat would synchronize with the fourth year of Ahab. That is the synchronism of the Massoretic text, as against the synchronism of the eleventh year of Omri in LXX and Luc.

It is of interest to note that LXX not only has the synchronism of the eleventh year of Omri for Jehoshaphat's accession, but it also has the synchronism of the fourth year of Ahab. Why these two synchronisms? They belong, as we have seen, to two totally different patterns for this period. The Hebrew gives only one synchronism for Jehoshaphat's accession, the fourth year of Ahab. If LXX were consistent with itself and if the pattern it was following were the true pattern for this period, then it should have only one synchronism, the eleventh of Omri. But the fact that it gives these two synchronisms—that of the eleventh of Omri, which is according to its own pattern of reigns, and that of the fourth of Ahab, which is according to the very diverse pattern of the Massoretic text—is proof of the fact, first, that the Hebrew pattern was already in existence when the Greek pattern came into being and that this Hebrew synchronism was borrowed by LXX; and second, that the chronological data of LXX are not all according to one basic and original pattern of the kings, but that they contain items from two distinct and conflicting patterns of reigns, the one early and original and the other modified and late.

We have now reached the end of the period where LXX and Luc. follow the same basic pattern of variations from MT. The next variation in LXX is one which involves the beginning of the reign of

With Ahab beginning his reign in the second year of Jehoshaphat, it will be noticed that his twenty-second and final year synchronizes with the twenty-third year of Jehoshaphat. If the reign of Ahaziah is to follow that of Ahab rather than to fall in the midst of that reign as it does on the pattern of LXX, his accession will take place in the twenty-fourth year of Jehoshaphat, and that is the figure for the variant synchronism found in Luc. but not in LXX or MT. Ahaziah ruled two years, thus synchronizing his second and last year with the twenty-fifth and last year of Jehoshaphat. If the accession of Jehoram in Judah is now reckoned according to the nonaccession-year system and the reign of Joram in Israel according to inconsequent accession-year reckoning, the latter will begin his reign in the second year of Jehoram of Judah. That is the synchronism used by Luc., in agreement with MT. In this pattern, however, the additional synchronism of MT. placing Joram's accession in Israel also in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat must necessarily be rejected, for this is now eight years beyond Jehoshaphat's eighteenth year.

Let us pause for a moment to consider the significance of these synchronisms of Joram's accession in Israel. Luc. synchronizes the beginning of his reign with the second year of Jehoram of Judah. In doing so, and in placing the accession of Ahaziah in the twenty-fourth year of Jehoshaphat, he secures a pattern which looks very good—at least on paper, as concerns the kings of Israel. It seems consistent, reasonable, and in probable harmony with the facts. Does this, then, prove Luc. to be the earliest and the best pattern of the kings for this period; i.e., does it portray the reigns of these kings as they actually were? We will presently deal with this question.

In contrast to this very simple and seemingly reasonable and consistent pattern of Luc., we have the very involved and obviously inconsistent pattern of LXX, where Joram's accession is synchronized with the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat. Such a pattern is clearly impossible. Since Ahab had not begun his reign till the second year of Jehoshaphat and since he ruled twenty-two years, the final year of his reign would not come till the twenty-third year of Jehoshaphat. With Ahaziah's accession synchronized with the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, his two years of reign would synchronize with the seventeenth and the eighteenth years of that king, in the very midst of his father's reign, and while Ahab is still on the throne and continues to be for six years more, Joram begins to rule in Jehoshaphat's eighteenth year. Is this the original pattern of reigns for this period? Or was this a late pattern, developed from an earlier pattern

of Luc.? Certainly this very involved and very inconsistent pattern of LXX was not an outgrowth from that of Luc., for from such a simple pattern as that of the Lucianic text we would never expect any group of scholars to develop the involved and obviously impossible pattern of LXX.

In addition to the above two patterns, LXX and Luc., we have a third, that of MT., which contains not one but two synchronisms for Jehoram's accession, the one that of LXX, and the other that of Luc. The question we face is how MT. came to have these two synchronisms. Could it be that MT. was the later of these three patterns, and that it borrowed one of its synchronisms from LXX and the other from Luc.? If the Greek patterns were in existence before that of the Hebrew, then MT. must have borrowed its synchronism of the eighteenth of Jehoshaphat for Joram's accession from LXX or some manuscript containing the figures of LXX, and it must have taken the synchronism of the second of Jehoram from Luc. or some manuscript containing the figures of Luc. Or, on the other hand, was MT. the earliest of these three patterns, containing these two synchronisms for Joram's accession, with LXX borrowing the one and Luc. taking the other?

In the endeavor to secure the answer to these questions let us ask ourselves what the likelihood would be that one late source, MT., might go to two early sources, LXX and Luc., borrowing from the first its synchronism of the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat for Joram's accession, and then going to the second source, Luc., and likewise borrowing its synchronism for the beginning of Joram's reign in Israel, the second of Jehoram of Judah, and then endeavoring to combine these two synchronisms into a single pattern for the kings of Israel and Judah. Let us remember that if MT. were the latest of these three patterns, then the very simple pattern of Luc. came before the very complicated pattern of MT. With such a clear and seemingly correct and harmonious pattern as that of Luc., what scholar or group of scholars would endeavor to combine with that the obvious inconsistencies of LXX, and thus to formulate a new pattern with the complications and apparent inconsistencies of MT.? Surely that is not the way that the chronological pattern of the Massoretic text came into being. It would be much more logical to postulate MT. as the earliest of these three sources, containing its two synchronisms for Joram's accession—whether right or wrong, but seemingly wrong to the eyes of a later age—and with LXX as a later source proceeding to borrow from MT. the synchronism of the

eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat for the beginning of Joram's reign, and endeavoring upon this basis to formulate an improved pattern of the kings for the period involved, but with the resultant pattern still so obviously inconsistent that a third and still later source, Luc., refused to go along with LXX in this modification of the pattern of MT., but taking from MT. its second synchronism for Joram's accession, the second year of Jehoram in Judah, and going forward upon this basis to the creation of the simple, seemingly accurate pattern now found in Luc.

But appearances aside, what evidence do we have that the seemingly consistent pattern of Luc. is indeed the early and correct pattern of the Hebrew kings for the period involved? It should be noticed that on the pattern of LXX, the period from the death of Ahab to the assumption of Jehu is compressed into the short space of six years, whereas on the pattern of Luc. it is stretched out to fourteen years. Let us see what the results are when this pattern of Luc. is set against the years of Shalmaneser III in Assyria for the period under consideration:

853	852	851	850	849	848	847	846	845	844	843	842	841	840	839
<i>Shalmaneser III</i>														
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
22	(1)	2	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<i>Ahab</i>	<i>Ahaziah</i>													(1)
						<i>Joram</i>								<i>Jehu</i>

Assyrian documents provide the information that Ahab was one of the participants in the Battle of Qarqar which was fought during the sixth year of Shalmaneser, 853 B.C. Assyrian documents likewise provide the information that Jehu paid tribute to Shalmaneser in the eighteenth year of Shalmaneser's reign, 841. We know, then, that the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu cannot be more than twelve years apart. Since the pattern of Luc. gives fourteen years for this period, we know that the figures of Luc. must be in error, and that this is not the true pattern of reigns for the period here under review. It will be recalled that the pattern of the Hebrew text, when the years of Israel are reckoned according to the nonaccession-year method, provides exactly twelve years for this interval, one year for Ahaziah (two years of official reign), and eleven years for Joram (twelve official years). The pattern of MT. would thus harmonize perfectly with that of Assyria, as may be observed from the following outline of reigns:

[illegible]

And yet where did this pattern come from? Was it taken from an earlier, seemingly much more sane and consistent pattern found in LXX? That again would hardly be likely. If LXX came first, MT. would not have made the attempt to turn seeming sense into apparent nonsense. Of these two patterns that of MT. must have been first in the field, and it must have been because it seemed so ridiculous and impossible that it was not accepted by LXX. But in its attempt to bring about an improvement, LXX only produced a pattern that was actually as inconsistent as that of MT. merely appeared to be.

Let us next notice the data for the reign of Jehoram of Judah. According to MT. the definite number of eight years is given for the length of his reign as against the indefinite number forty in LXX. Which of these numbers came first? Did MT. produce the definite number eight from an indefinite number forty in LXX, or did LXX substitute the indefinite number forty because of some uncertainty regarding the number eight in MT.? Let us notice that MT. gives two synchronisms for Ahaziah's accession in Judah, both the eleventh and the twelfth years of Joram in Israel, and that LXX likewise gives these two synchronisms. Having before us two such synchronisms, where should we place the beginning of Ahaziah's reign, in the eleventh or the twelfth year of Joram? Whatever we do in that regard will affect the length of Jehoram's reign in Judah, for if Ahaziah began to reign in the eleventh year of Joram of Israel and if his reign were reckoned according to the accession-year system, the length of his father Jehoram's reign would have been seven years. If, however, Ahaziah's reign were reckoned according to inconsequent accession-year reckoning, then Jehoram's reign would have been six years. If Ahaziah came to the throne in the twelfth year of Joram of Israel and if his reign were reckoned according to the accession-year system, then the length of Jehoram's reign would have been eight years. If, moreover, Joram of Israel came to the throne in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat, and if Jehoshaphat had a reign of twenty-five years, then the sole reign of Jehoram in Judah, reckoned according to the inconsequent accession-year system, did not begin till the ninth year of Joram of Israel. And if Ahaziah his son began to reign in the eleventh year of Joram, then Jehoram of Judah would have had a sole reign of only two years. So, how many years did Jehoram reign—two, six, seven, or eight years? Perhaps we may find a reflection of some such uncertainty in the round number forty used by LXX. If the pattern of LXX with this number forty was in the field before the pattern of MT., and if MT. had undertak-

en the task of producing a better and more consistent outline of reigns than that of LXX, would it have given us the seemingly impossible pattern we now find in MT.² That would hardly be the case.

Hopeless though this pattern of MT. may appear to be, when the three patterns of MT., LXX and Luc. are compared with each other, it will be discovered that MT. is the only one of the three which is actually consistent with itself and in harmony with the facts of contemporary history. Let us notice once more the pattern of MT.⁶ for this time as contrasted with that of LXX:

MASSORETIC TEXT

[illegible]

SEPTUAGINT

										<i>Jehoram</i>					<i>Ahaziah I</i>		
<i>Jehoshaphat</i>						(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7					
16	(17)	(18)	19	20	21	22	23	24	25			(2c)	1				
<i>Ahab</i>		16	17	18	19	20	21	22					1 <i>Athaliah</i>				
	(1)	2											1 <i>Jehu</i>				
		(1)	2	3	4	(5)	6	7	8	9	10	(11)	12				
<i>Ahaziah Is.</i>																	
<i>Joram</i>																	

Inasmuch as Jehoshaphat had been coregent with his father Asa, the years of his reign as above presented on the pattern of MT. are the years beginning with his sole reign. It is for this reason that his reign terminates in his twenty-second rather than his twenty-fifth year, for the total of twenty-five as the years of his reign includes not only his years of sole reign but also those of his coregency. On the pattern of LXX this point is not taken into consideration, thus bringing the termination of Jehoshaphat's reign twenty-five years after the death of Asa as against twenty-two years on the pattern of MT.

The most outstanding difference in these two patterns, however, is the fact that on the pattern of MT, the twenty-second and last

6. It will be recognized that this greatly simplified presentation of the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah does not make possible the full and absolutely correct delineation of all the details involved. For the complete presentation of this picture as based upon such details as Nisan and Tishri years, accession- and nonaccession-year reckoning, see our chart at p. 74.

year of Ahab synchronizes with the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat, whereas on the pattern of LXX it is the sixteenth year of Ahab which synchronizes with Jehoshaphat's seventeenth year. The result is that, when Ahaziah's accession is synchronized with the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat and Joram's accession is synchronized with Jehoshaphat's eighteenth year, there is no overlapping at all in the pattern of MT. between the reigns of either Ahaziah or Joram with that of Ahab. On the pattern of LXX, however, the result of these synchronizations is the placing of Ahaziah's reign in the middle of that of Ahab, and an overlapping of six years between the reigns of Joram and Ahab.

According to this pattern of LXX, moreover, there is no possibility of synchronizing Joram's accession in Israel with the second year of Jehoram of Judah, and this synchronism is consequently omitted by LXX. On the pattern of MT. it will be discovered that Jehoram of Judah began to reign as coregent with his father Jehoshaphat in the seventeenth year of the latter's reign. This makes possible the synchronization of the beginning of Joram's reign in Israel with both the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat and the second year of Jehoram in Judah—the second year of his coregency, not of his sole reign. Also according to this pattern the fifth year of Joram in Israel synchronizes with the last year of Jehoshaphat, and consequently Jehoram in Judah began his sole reign in the fifth year of Joram of Israel. So, confusing and impossible though these synchronisms of MT. may at first appear to be, they are perfectly correct and harmonious when once the original arrangement of reigns in Israel and Judah for this period is understood.

It will be noticed that although the arrangement of the reigns of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram in Judah are quite different in the patterns of MT. and LXX, the total number of years for the interval from the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat to the accession of Athaliah is the same on both patterns—twelve years. But for Israel the picture is vastly different for the period from the death of Ahab to the accession of Jehu, the total being twelve years according to MT. but only six years according to LXX. This reduction of years in the Northern Kingdom was secured by the telescoping of the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram on the pattern of LXX, whereas according to MT. these reigns succeed each other.

These variations of totals of years from one point to another are, of course, of great importance in the matter of absolute chronology. Let us notice how the patterns of MT., LXX, and Luc. compare with

each other as to the actual number of years involved for each of the kings from the schism to Ahaziah and Joram:

ACTUAL YEARS OF REIGN ACCORDING TO THE PATTERNS
OF THE GREEK AND HEBREW TEXTS

JUDAH	Massoretic Text	Septuagint	Lucian
Rehoboam . . .	17 years	17 years	17 years
Abijam	3 years	6 years	6 years
Asa	41 years	41 years	41 years
Jehoshaphat . . .	21 years sole reign	25 years	25 years
Jehoram	7 years sole reign	3 years sole reign	11 years (?)
Ahaziah	1 year	1 year	1 year
Total	90 years	93 years	101 years
ISRAEL	Massoretic Text	Septuagint	Lucian
Jeroboam . . .	21 years	24 years	24 years
Nadab	1 year	2 years	2 years
Baasha	23 years	24 years	24 years
Elah	1 year	2 years	none
Zimri	7 days	1 year	3 years sole reign (?)
Omri	11 years	12 years	12 years
Ahab	21 years	22 years	22 years
Ahaziah	1 year	none	2 years
Joram	11 years	6 years sole reign	12 years
Total	90 years, 7 days	93 years	101 years

The full and final answer as to which of these patterns is correct would immediately be given by a comparison of these reigns with an absolute chronology of the times if that were possible. Unfortunately we know of no exact synchronisms between the Hebrew monarchies and the years of Assyria that would enable us to check the years of the Hebrew kings of this period against the years of the Eponym Canon. The exact synchronism of Sheshonk's attack on Judah in the fifth year of Rehoboam (I Kings 14:25) might help if we knew the exact years of Sheshonk, but unfortunately we do not as yet possess a chronology of Egypt for this period comparable to the Assyrian limmu lists. Some day such a chronology may be forthcoming, and when it is a final answer will be possible as to the comparative accuracies of these various chronological patterns.

One more item that may be of service in indicating whether MT., LXX, or Luc. is the earlier and more consistent of these patterns, is a study of the systems used in each of these sources for reckoning the reigns of the kings. These, for the period from the disruption to the reigns of Joram and Ahaziah, are as follows:

CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS EMPLOYED IN THE
GREEK AND HEBREW TEXTS

	Massoretic Text	Septuagint	Lucian
JUDAH			
Rehoboam	ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Abijam	ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Asa	ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Jehoshaphat	ac.-year	Ac.-year	Ac.-year
Jehoram	nonac.-year	Coregent, nonac.-year	Nonac.-year
Ahaziah	nonac.-year	Ac.-year	Not clear
ISRAEL			
Jeroboam	nonac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Nadab	nonac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Baasha	nonac.-year	Ac.-year	Ac.-year
Elah	nonac.-year	Not clear	Not clear
Zimri	nonac.-year	Not clear	Not clear
Omri	nonac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Not clear
Ahab	nonac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Ahaziah	nonac.-year	Coregent, nonac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year
Joram	nonac.-year	Coregent, nonac.-year	Inconsequent ac.-year

The chronological pattern of the Hebrew text has frequently been regarded as hopelessly confused. In regard to its method of reckoning the reigns of the kings, however, it will be found to be marvelously consistent. For the period here under review—the period in which the Greek variations are found—Judah uses the accession-year system for all but the last two kings, when the nonaccession-year system is introduced. In Israel nonaccession-year reckoning is used throughout. The Greek texts on the contrary reveal a rather bewildering array of inconsistencies, uncertainties, and irregularities.⁷ While the method of reckoning most usually employed—inconsequent accession-year reckoning—is of itself inconsistent, there is little of consistency even in manner of employing so inconsistent a method. Thus Luc. for the first three kings of Judah employs the inconsequent accession-year system, for the next king the accession-year method, for the following king nonaccession-year reckoning, and for the next king the pattern is not clear.

The above table covers only the period from the beginning of the

7. A careful analysis of the methods of reckoning the reigns of the kings employed in such modern chronological systems as those of Ussher and Anstey reveals the same irregularities and inconsistencies as are involved in the numbers of the Greek texts (see chap. xi of this volume). Such irregularities are of course indicative of a lack of comprehension of the basic principles of Hebrew chronology.

schism to the reigns of Ahaziah and Joram. If we were to continue the listing through the following period, from Jehu and Athaliah to the termination of the Hebrew kingdoms, the result would be all the more striking, for there the patterns of both LXX and Luc. suddenly become surprisingly consistent in reckoning the reigns of the kings. The first two rulers in both Judah and Israel of that period according to both LXX and Luc. reckon their reigns upon the nonaccession-year basis, and from then on both nations employ accession-year reckoning to the end of their histories. The only exception is found in Luc. at the time of Pekahiah, where inconsequent accession-year reckoning is again employed. In the pattern of MT., the first two rulers of this period in both Israel and Judah likewise employ nonaccession-year reckoning, while from there on the accession-year system is used. The question may well be asked why MT. should be so strikingly consistent in the manner of reckoning its reigns in both of these periods, while LXX and Luc. should be consistent only in the second and inconsistent in the first. The answer of course is simple, the Greek patterns are consistent only in that area where they agree with the Hebrew in the data of the kings; they are inconsistent only where their variations from the Hebrew text are found. We regard this evidence as decisive in favor of the antiquity and authenticity of the figures of the Hebrew text.

As we review the whole picture of the Greek variants, we believe that they give evidence of being late and inaccurate modifications of the earlier and more correct data of the Hebrew text. The highly complex and seemingly confused Hebrew pattern could hardly have resulted from the simple and seemingly harmonious Greek, but a failure to understand the true nature of the Hebrew figures could well have supplied the motive for attempts to produce a more perfect pattern. The numbers of the Hebrew are always sure and certain while the Greek frequently portray indefiniteness and lack of assurance. The Hebrew numbers produce a perfect pattern of reigns from the schism to Athaliah and Jehu; the Greek contain many fallacies and inconsistencies. The fact that the Greek variations, with the single exception of Lucian's figure for the years of Pekahiah's reign, are contained in the first chronological period of Hebrew history—that beginning with the accessions of Jeroboam and Rehoboam and terminating with the deaths of Joram and Ahaziah—and that in the succeeding period the numbers in the Greek are identical with the Hebrew creates suspicion concerning the nature and origin of the Greek variations. This is particularly true when one considers the

fact that it is in the latter period of Hebrew history where the most baffling chronological problems are found. If the Greek numbers are better, earlier, and more in harmony with the historical facts, why are they identical with the Hebrew in Pattern Twelve-Thirteen?

Still another indication that the Hebrew rather than the Greek contains the first and true pattern of reigns is the fact that in the Hebrew we find a consistency of procedure in the method of reckoning the reigns, while in the Greek the method most regularly employed is in itself inconsistent, but inconsistent though it may be, it is not followed with any degree of consistency. Certainly no nation in actual practice would be guilty of following such a bewildering course of chronological procedure as is found in the chronological data of the Greek texts.

The decisive argument in favor of the accuracy of any chronological system lies in the completeness of its accord with the years of an absolute chronology. The Hebrew chronology of the kings is in striking accord with the established chronology of Near Eastern history at numerous points of contact scattered over long periods of time. At the only point where an absolute comparison is possible between the chronology of the variant Greek patterns and that of Assyrian history, the pattern found in Luc. fails to meet the test.

Putting all the facts together, the evidence seems definitely to favor the Hebrew as possessing the earliest and the most accurate figures for the kings of both Israel and Judah, and the indications are that the variants of LXX came into being at some early period—probably in the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era—as the result of struggles with the chronological difficulties of the Hebrew text, and that the numbers there found give evidence of efforts to produce a chronological pattern more clear and consistent than that found in the Hebrew figures. The pattern of LXX having been brought into being, it appears that scholars of a still later period became aware of some of the inconsistencies and imperfections involved in the latter portion of that variant pattern, and in the endeavor to bring about still further improvements brought into being the variant figures now found in Luc.

It seems clear then, that of these three patterns of Hebrew chronology, that of MT. is the earliest and best, that of LXX comes next in points of time and accuracy, and that of Luc. is the latest and the most inaccurate.

Chapter Ten

THE VARIANT FIGURES OF JOSEPHUS

THE writings of Josephus contain many items of a chronological nature. Among these is much material having to do with the kings of Judah and Israel. The length of reign of each king is given together with a number of synchronisms. As a whole the data are in harmony with those of the Massoretic text, but a few variations occur.

The following is a summary of Josephus' data concerning the kings as found in his *Antiquities*, with the variations italicized:

JUDAH			
Ruler	Length of reign	Synchronism	Reference
Rehoboam	17 years		VIII. x. 4
Abijam	3 years		VIII. xi. 3
Asa	41 years		VIII. xii. 6
Jehoshaphat	25 years		IX. iii. 2
Jehoram	8 years		IX. v. 3
Ahaziah	1 year		IX. vi. 3
Athaliah	6 years		IX. vii. 1
Joash	40 years		IX. viii. 4; cf. vii. 5
Amaziah	29 years	2d of Joash	IX. ix. 3
Azariah	52 years	14th of Jeroboam	IX. x. 3, 4
Jotham	16 years		IX. xii. 1
Ahaz	16 years		IX. xii. 3
Hezekiah	29 years	4th of Hoshea	IX. xiii. 1; X. iii. 1
Manasseh	55 years		X. iii. 2
Amon	2 years		X. iv. 1
Josiah	31 years		X. v. 1
Jehoahaz	3 months and 10 days		X. v. 2
Jehoiakim	11 years		X. vi. 3
Jehoiachin	3 months and 10 days		X. vi. 3
Zedekiah	11 years		X. viii. 5
ISRAEL			
Ruler	Length of reign	Synchronism	Reference
Jeroboam	22 years		VIII. xi. 4
Nadab	2 years		VIII. xi. 4
Baasha	24 years		VIII. xii. 3
Elah	2 years		VIII. xii. 4
Zimri	7 days		VIII. xii. 5
Omri	12 years	30th of Asa	VIII. xii. 5
Ahab	22 years		VIII. xiii. 1
Ahaziah	2 years		IX. ii. 1

Joram	12 years		IX. ii. 2
Jehu	27 years		IX. viii. 1
Jehoahaz	17 years	21st of Joash J	IX. viii. 5
Jehoash	16 years	37th of Joash J	IX. viii. 6
Jeroboam II	40 years	15th of Amaziah	IX. x. 1, 3
Zachariah	6 months		IX. xi. 1
Shallum	30 days		IX. xi. 1
Menahem	10 years		IX. xi. 1
Pekahiah	2 years		IX. xi. 1
Pekah	20 years		IX. xi. 1
Hoshea	9 years		IX. xiii. 1
Samaria besieged		7th of Hoshea	IX. xiv. 1
Samaria captured		9th of Hoshea	IX. xiv. 1
Samaria captured		7th of Hezekiah	IX. xiv. 1

The following is a summary of the variations of Josephus as compared with the data of the Massoretic text:

	JOSEPHUS		MASSORETIC TEXT
	Synchronism	Length of Reign	
Omri	30th of Asa		31st of Asa
Jehu		27 years	28 years
Jehoahaz	21st of Joash		23d of Joash
Azariah	14th of Jeroboam		27th of Jeroboam
Jeroboam		40 years	41 years
Hezekiah	4th of Hoshea		3d of Hoshea
Fall of Samaria	7th of Hezekiah		6th of Hezekiah
Jehoahaz		3 months and 10 days	3 months

Having noticed the variants in the Greek texts, the question immediately arises as to whether any of Josephus' variants are the same as those in the Greek. They are not. The variants of the Greek texts, with a single exception, are found in the period before Jehu and Athaliah. The variants of Josephus, with a single exception, are found in the period after Jehu and Athaliah. And again, with a single exception, they are found in the period before Hoshea and Hezekiah.

The important question concerning these variants in Josephus is how they came to be. Might they more correctly represent the original data of the Hebrew kings than the figures in the Massoretic text? Or did the Hebrew come first, and if so, what was responsible for the variations now found in Josephus? Are they accidental intrusions unwittingly introduced by careless scribes or are they in the nature of modifications purposely inserted to produce what was conceived to be a more harmonious chronological pattern? These are questions with which this chapter will deal.

Our first task is to ascertain, if we can, whether or not these variations fit into some particular pattern of reigns. Josephus gives the length of the Northern Kingdom, from the revolt of Jeroboam to the fall of Samaria, as two hundred forty years, seven months, and seven days (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 1). Such a definite figure indicates some specific pattern. The details of seven months and seven days clearly indicate its origin, for that is the number given for the totals of Zachariah, Shallum, and Zimri, with Zachariah ruling six months, Shallum one month, and Zimri seven days. The sum of the reigns of the other rulers of Israel according to the figures of Josephus is two hundred and thirty-nine years. Josephus thus gives a total for the period from the revolt of Jeroboam to the fall of Samaria which is one year greater than his total for the lengths of reign of all rulers of the Northern Kingdom. That this variation of one year in these totals is not an accidental error seems to be indicated by the fact that Josephus places the fall of Samaria in the seventh rather than the sixth year of Hezekiah, as it is given in the Hebrew text (II Kings 18:10). It thus seems that Josephus followed a definite pattern of reigns for this period which in some manner was one year longer than the total years given by him for the rulers of Israel. On such a pattern all the rulers of Israel must have appeared consecutively, Jeroboam first with a reign of twenty-two years, Nadab next with two years, Baasha with twenty-four years, and so on till the end of Israel's history. That pattern, however, would need to terminate one year beyond the place where the Massoretic text synchronizes the fall of Samaria with the sixth year of Hezekiah.

As far as Israel is concerned, the reconstruction of the pattern followed by Josephus should be a comparatively simple matter. For Judah the task will not be quite so simple, for there the total years of the kings amount to two hundred and sixty-one according to Josephus' data, and there would necessarily be some overlapping of reigns if Judah's total is to harmonize with Israel's total of two hundred and forty years. The synchronisms given by Josephus should provide some clew as to the pattern that he had in mind concerning these harmonizations. Where no synchronisms are given, the exact pattern that he followed might at times be difficult to reconstruct, but lacking a synchronism, the presumption would be that the data of the Massoretic text should on the whole be followed. Knowing in advance what his pattern of reigns for Israel must be, the years of one king succeeding those of another in regular sequence, we might look for this very simple pattern likewise to be that which he would

also have in mind for Judah, except where overlapping of reigns might be called for. Let us see what progress might be made in an endeavor to proceed upon such a basis:

Years of Josephus' era of the divided monarchies

[illegible]

It will be noticed that our pattern thus far is in strict accord with the data of both Josephus and the Massoretic text as to lengths of reign. Josephus has given no synchronisms for the period here under consideration, but all synchronisms except that of the accession of Baasha are in accord with the data of the Massoretic text. Three reigns so far have been reckoned in accord with the accession-year system, and one in accord with inconsequent accession-year reckoning. It is a question whether any particular attention was given by Josephus to the differences between these two systems, for according to both methods, reigns always follow each other consecutively without any overlapping of years. The only difference is in the matter of synchronisms, and on this Josephus has here given no data. The total years involved in the pattern thus far for each nation are equal to the sums of the years of reign in each nation. Thus in Judah the seventeen years of Rehoboam and the three years of Abijam bring us to the twentieth year of Josephus' era of the divided monarchies, while in Israel the twenty-two years for Jeroboam and the two years for Nadab take us to the twenty-fourth year of that era.

We continue our pattern from the year twenty-seven of this era:

27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50
Asa
 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 (30)
 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 1 2
Baasha
 ac
 Zimri
 (ac)
 Omri
 Elah

The fiftieth year of Josephus' era now brings us to the second and final year of Elah, and to the accessions of Zimri and Omri. In Israel the total for the years of reign thus far should be fifty years, and that is exactly the sum for the kings involved—twenty-two years for Jeroboam, two for Nadab, twenty-four for Baasha, and two for Elah. The

seven-day reign of Zimri falls within the fiftieth year of this era, for according to the scheme Josephus was following, the total of elapsed time in Israel since the schism would now be fifty years and seven days.

According to our pattern, the fiftieth year of Josephus' era marked the thirtieth year of Asa, the second and last year of Elah, and the year in which Zimri had his brief reign of seven days. That should, then, also mark the year of Omri's accession, when he overthrew Zimri, and the next year should mark the first year of Omri. That we have been following the basic pattern of Josephus up to this point is evidenced by the fact that on our pattern the accession of Omri synchronizes with the thirtieth year of Asa, and that is precisely where Josephus places the beginning of Omri's reign. This is the first synchronism given in *Antiquities* for any king of either Israel or Judah, and this is also Josephus' first variant from the Massoretic text. MT. synchronizes the accession of Omri with the thirty-first year of Asa, and Josephus' variant figure at this point is an indication that this is not a mere accident but that he had some basic pattern in mind, and we have the assurance that we have thus far been correctly following his pattern. We may not at all times know exactly whether we are in harmony with his arrangement of reigns, for his synchronisms are few and far between. But when they are given, checks may be made. Of ten synchronisms given by Josephus, only five agree with the Massoretic text. The five variations out of the ten he gives would indicate that he did not regard the synchronisms of MT. as possessing any great degree of accuracy, or he was following some manuscript then in existence which contained a divergent pattern from that of the Massoretic text. When hereinafter we speak of "Josephus" we would not wish it to be understood that we are necessarily speaking of Josephus the man but of that body of chronological tradition preserved in his writings. The probabilities are that in this matter of chronological variants, the original "Josephus," as we are here using the term, is, in fact, not Josephus the author of *Antiquities*, but the source or sources from which he borrowed his chronological data, for Mowinckel has pointed out that Josephus used neither the Hebrew textual recension nor the Septuagint, but a Midrashic source written in Greek.¹

In the period we are about to enter, a number of difficulties will be encountered concerning the exact arrangement of reigns. When we

1. Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *Acta orientalia*, IX (1941), 163.

notice the data given by Josephus for these kings and the pattern that he is endeavoring to follow, it becomes clear that somewhere difficulties must arise. If Josephus' figures for the reigns of the kings of Judah are regarded as correct, absolute harmony here will not be possible, for his totals from the schism to the death of Joram in Israel and Ahaziah in Judah come to ninety-eight years in Israel as against ninety-five years in Judah—the same as was the case with the Massoretic text. Since Jeroboam and Rehoboam began to rule at the same time, and since Joram and Ahaziah were slain in the same year by Jehu, the period from the schism to Jehu is identical in Judah and Israel. The pattern followed by Josephus is, as we have noticed, one which follows the totals of the years of Israel's kings, and thus his total from Jeroboam to the death of Joram will be ninety-eight years. That being the case, the total from Rehoboam to the death of Ahaziah must also equal ninety-eight years. But the sum of the years of Judah's kings for that period, as they are given by Josephus, is only ninety-five. So in this area we face either an interregnum of three years or an error of three years in the figure given for some king's reign. Further synchronisms by Josephus might have enabled us to know exactly how he handled the problem involved. But lacking such information, we can only surmise what his pattern might be and go on with a provisional rather than an absolute reconstruction.

In the following suggested reconstruction, three years are being added between the reigns of Asa and Jehoshaphat, so that the total for Judah might equal the total for Israel:

50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74
Asa													Jehoshaphat											
(30)	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	[42]	[43]	[44]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
(ac)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Omri													Abab											

In any pattern that might here be reconstructed for Judah, practically every synchronism of the Massoretic text will have to be disregarded. The pattern being followed by Josephus is simply not that of the Massoretic text, and the data of the one will not harmonize with the other.

In our suggested reconstruction, three years were inserted between the reigns of Asa and Jehoshaphat so that the years of Judah may equal Josephus' total for Israel. Just where Josephus made provision for these three years, or whether he even went so far as to endeavor to reconstruct the pattern here for the kings of Judah, we do not know. All that is clear is the pattern for Israel, and the fact that the

reign of Ahaziah in Judah must terminate at the same time as that of Joram in Israel, and that the reign of Athaliah must begin at the same time as that of Jehu. With this in mind, let us proceed with the following provisional pattern for the ensuing period:

75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	
Jehoshaphat															Jehoram					Ahaziah I				
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	
																						ac Athaliah		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Ahab										Ahaziah Is.										ac Jehu				
Joram																								

The year ninety-eight of Josephus' era now brings us to the termination of the reigns of Ahaziah in Judah and Joram in Israel. This is a natural dividing point in the chronological history of Judah and Israel, a point at which we need no official synchronism to know that we are dealing with a common year in the history of both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms, and at this point no synchronism is given in the Hebrew text for the accession of either Jehu or Athaliah. But regardless of any data concerning synchronisms or lengths of reign, we know that this year terminates a period involving an equal number of years for both Judah and Israel. This period began with the accession of Rehoboam in Judah and Jeroboam in Israel, and it terminated with the murders of Ahaziah and Joram at the hands of Jehu.

Regardless of any errors which might have crept into our pattern of reigns thus far, we have now reached a point where we know that Israel and Judah are at the same year in their histories. This is the ninety-eighth year of Josephus' era. We are thus ready to begin anew, with the year ninety-nine as the first year for both Jehu and Athaliah. The pattern of years for the ensuing period follows:

99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120
<i>Athaliah</i>						<i>Joash</i>															
1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
<i>Jehu</i>																					

Josephus has given the length of Athaliah's reign as six years. No figure is given for this reign in the Massoretic text, but the number of Josephus seems to be based upon the data of II Kings 11:3, where we are told that the infant Joash was hidden in the temple six years and that Athaliah ruled over the land. This statement does not declare that Athaliah had an official reign of six years, but that the infant Joash was hidden in the temple six years. The next verse makes the statement that "in the seventh year," Jehoiada the priest fetched the

officials of Judah to show them the royal child. What seventh year? Evidently the seventh year since Athaliah had slain the seed royal and had seized the throne, and evidently the seventh official year of her reign. So it seems that according to the Massoretic text, Athaliah should be given an official reign of seven years. A further indication that this is the case is the fact that the accession of Joash is synchronized with the seventh year of Jehu according to the Massoretic text. If that was the seventh year of Jehu it was also the seventh year of Athaliah, because Athaliah and Jehu began their reigns at the same time. Whether Athaliah has a reign of six years or seven will make some difference in the chronological pattern to follow.

We continue our pattern from the year 121 of Josephus' era:

21	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141
<i>oash</i>																				
17	18	19	20	(21)	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
23	24	25	26	27																
<i>ehu</i>			(ac)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
				<i>Jehoahaz</i>																

The pattern for this period involves two variations from the Massoretic text. According to MT. Jehu ruled twenty-eight years, but according to Josephus the figure is twenty-seven. According to MT. the accession of Jehoahaz took place in the twenty-third year of Joash as against the twenty-first year in Josephus. It will be noticed that Josephus' pattern for this period, although self-consistent, is distinctly different from that of the Hebrew text. Since Jehu had his first year in the year ninety-nine of Josephus' era, his twenty-seventh year would fall in the year 125 of Josephus, and that same year is the twenty-first year of Joash in Judah. That would be the year of the accession of Jehoahaz, and that is the synchronism given by Josephus. Our pattern at this point is thus in complete harmony with the data of Josephus, and we therefore know that we are following the pattern he had in mind.

Up to the present the pattern followed by Josephus has been amazingly simple, and seemingly consistent. Never has there been an overlapping of reigns, never a shift from accession- to nonaccession-year reckoning. The full number of years involved in one reign has always been followed by the full number of years involved in its successor. Reckoning was always according to the accession-year or inconsequent accession-year system. Except for synchronisms, such reigns look exactly alike—the last official year of one king's reign is always followed by the first official year of the successor. With such a system used in both Israel and Judah, it is always possible to secure

the total number of years involved in any desired period simply by securing the sums of the years of reign. Compared with the exceedingly difficult pattern of reigns in the Massoretic text, this system of Josephus is a chronologist's delight. Only in one section thus far has his pattern been uncertain, and that was due either to an error of three years in his figure for the reign of some king of Judah, or an interregnum of three years which he did not mention. From now on, however, Josephus' pattern will not be so consistent. This is particularly true as concerns the kings of Judah. Let us notice the reigns for the period beginning with year 142:

142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164
Joash		Amaziah																				
38	39	40																				
	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	(15)	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
17															(ac)	1	2	3	4	5		
(ac)	1	(2)	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16						
Jehoash																						Jeroboam II

Josephus gives three synchronisms for this section. The beginning of the reign of Jehoash in Israel he places in the thirty-seventh year of Joash in Judah, in agreement with MT. Our pattern for this accession, however, calls for the thirty-eighth rather than the thirty-seventh year of Joash, the year 142, with the next year being the first official year of Jehoash's reign. On our pattern, therefore, the years of Judah seem to be thrown one year ahead of the years of Israel, as called for by Josephus' synchronism at this point. When we reach the Hezekiah-Hoshea period we will find that Josephus' data are not consistent, but that evidence exists there of two patterns, on one of which the years of Judah are thrown a year ahead. It appears that beginning with the reign of Joash we have evidence of the existence of two distinct patterns of reigns in the sources from which Josephus borrowed, on the one of which the years of Judah are found a year in advance of the position they occupy on the other.

For the next two kings Josephus gives synchronisms which again are in agreement with the figures of MT., Amaziah in the second year of Jehoash of Israel, and Jeroboam II in the fifteenth year of Amaziah. These figures agree with the pattern here presented. The accession of Amaziah, however, is in accord with the nonaccession-year system—the first reign to be reckoned according to this system on the pattern here being constructed. If Josephus' almost invariable rule in reckoning the reigns were followed at this point, the reign of Amaziah should appear one year lower. Again we seem to have evidence here of two distinct patterns of reign in Josephus' sources.

We will go on from year 165:

65	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187
<i>Amaziah</i>							<i>Azariah</i>															
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29															
							(ac)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	(14)	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
<i>Jeroboam II</i>																						

It will be noticed that Amaziah's reign of twenty-nine years, which began in the year 144 of Josephus' era, terminates in 172. Jeroboam II began his reign in the year 158, and consequently the year 172 would mark his fourteenth year. The synchronism of Josephus for Azariah's accession is the fourteenth year of Jeroboam. In contrast, the Massoretic text places Azariah's accession in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam. So again we have evidence at this point that our reconstruction is following Josephus' pattern.

Continuing from the year 188 we have the following pattern of reigns:

188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210
Azariah																						
6	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
10	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Jeroboam II										Zachariah										Pekahiah		
										Shallum												
										Menahem												

The Massoretic text gives Jeroboam II a reign of forty-one years but the figure of Josephus is forty—evidence again of two distinct patterns a year apart. According to our reconstruction of Josephus' pattern, the termination of Jeroboam's reign would fall in the year 198. That too would be the year for the six-month reign of Zachariah, the one-month reign of Shallum, and the accession of Menahem. The ten years of Menahem would terminate in 208, and that would also be the year for the accession of Pekahiah. According to the synchronism of the Hebrew text, Pekahiah came to the throne in the fiftieth year of Azariah. Josephus fails to give a synchronism for this accession, but according to our reconstruction it falls in the thirty-sixth year of Azariah. Thus our pattern at this point is some fourteen years at variance with the Hebrew. It will be recalled that Josephus placed the accession of Azariah in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam as against the twenty-seventh year in the Hebrew. So it is clear that Josephus is here following a pattern some thirteen years at variance with the Massoretic text. With our pattern now differing from the Hebrew by fourteen years, we once more find evidence here of two patterns just a year apart.

Pekahiah was followed by Pekah, and our pattern calls for his accession in the year 210. Let us ascertain the number of years involved for the kings of Israel from the accession of Jehu to the accession of Pekah:

Jehu	27 years
Jehoahaz	17 years
Jehoash	16 years
Jeroboam II	40 years
Zachariah	6 months
Shallum	30 days
Menahem	10 years
Pekahiah	2 years
Total	112 years, 6 months, 30 days

Inasmuch as the accession of Jehu took place in the year 98, the death of Pekahiah and the accession of Pekah should take place one hundred and twelve years after 98, or in 210. That is the year of Pekah's accession according to our pattern.

It will be noticed that up till now Josephus' arrangement of the reigns of both Israel and Judah has been very simple, and, to all appearances, very consistent. In both Judah and Israel one reign has always succeeded the other without overlapping. On a pattern so simple and regular as this, the total years for Israel should equal the total for Judah at any given point. Having noticed the number of years in Israel up to the year 210 of Josephus' era, let us notice the years for Judah in this same period. The following are the years of reign for the rulers of Judah according to the figures of Josephus, beginning with the accession of Athaliah and terminating with the accession of Pekah in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah according to the pattern just set forth:

Athaliah	6 years
Joash	40 years
Amaziah	29 years
Azariah	38 years
Total	113 years

Our pattern for Judah at this point, it will be noted, involves one more year than it does for Israel. Thus again there seems to be a discrepancy of one year, with the pattern of Judah now one year ahead of that of Israel as concerns the totals of years of reign. Let us keep this in mind as our pattern develops.

Having reached the year 210 of Josephus' era as the thirty-eighth year of Azariah, how many more years of reign are still involved

before the seventh year of Hezekiah and the year 240 terminating this period of the divided monarchies? The following figures are according to Josephus and our synchronization of the thirty-eighth year of Azariah with the two hundred and tenth year of Josephus' era:

Azariah	.....14 years (52 less 38)
Jotham	.....16 years
Ahaz	.....16 years
Hezekiah	.....7 years
Total	.....53 years

Having reached the year 210 of Josephus' era, there are now only thirty years more before the year 240 marking the seventh year of Hezekiah. That means that fifty-three years of reign will need to be crowded into these remaining thirty calendar years. If there has been no overlapping so far, there will need to be considerable overlapping from now on, for we now face an excess for Judah of twenty-three years. If the pattern of Josephus has up to the present been simple and apparently consistent, it is clear that from now on it will not be quite so simple, and very evidently not nearly so consistent.

The next section of our outline begins with the year 211, which marks the thirty-ninth year of Azariah and the first year of Pekah, following the second and last year of Pekahiah in 210. The pattern for these years appears as follows:

	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	
<i>Azariah</i>	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	
<i>Jotham</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
<i>Ahaz</i>									1	2	
<i>Pekah</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
					221	222	223	224	225	226	227
					49	50	51	52			
					11	12	13	14	15	16	(17)
					3	4	5	6	7	8	9
					11	12	13	14	15	16	17
											18
											19
											20
											ac <i>Hoshea</i>

This section of our pattern looks rather unusual, with two or three kings reigning simultaneously in Judah—Azariah, his son Jotham, and his son Ahaz. Strange though this part of our pattern may seem, with the simple arrangement of reigns in the past, this is the only arrangement possible now.

It will be noticed that the accession of Hoshea has here been synchronized with the "twentieth" year of Jotham and the twelfth year of Ahaz, in harmony with the Massoretic synchronisms of II Kings 15:30 and 17:1. Although Josephus has given no synchronisms for

this period, his arrangement of reigns for the remaining portion of our reconstruction makes it clear that this is his arrangement for this section.

Continuing from the year 231 as the thirteenth year of Ahaz and the first year of Hoshea, the final portion of Josephus' pattern appears as follows:

231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
<i>Ahaz</i>			<i>Hezekiah</i>						
13	14	15	16						
			(1)	2	3	4	5	6	(7)
1	2	3	(4)	5	6	(7)	8	9	
<i>Hoshea</i>						<i>Samaria besieged</i>			
								<i>Samaria captured</i>	

The beginning of Hezekiah's reign here synchronizes with the fourth year of Hoshea, in harmony with the figure of Josephus. The Massoretic text gives the third year of Hoshea for this synchronism. With Hoshea's fourth year coming in 234, his ninth and final year would be 239, and that would be the year of Samaria's fall. But with 234 as the first year of Hezekiah, his seventh year would be 240, and that according to Josephus' synchronism would also be the year of Samaria's fall. Thus this pattern of Josephus seems to terminate with a discrepancy of one year. Has an error been made in placing the ninth year of Hoshea in the year 239 of Josephus' era? Let us notice the figures for Israel's reigns:

Jeroboam	22 years
Nadab	2 years
Baasha	24 years
Elah	2 years
Zimri	7 days
Omri	12 years
Ahab	22 years
Ahaziah	2 years
Joram	12 years
Jehu	27 years
Jehoahaz	17 years
Joash	16 years
Jeroboam II.	40 years
Zachariah	6 months
Shallum	30 days (1 month, MT.)
Menahem	10 years
Pekahiah	2 years
Pekah	20 years
Hoshea	9 years
Total	239 years, 6 months, 37 days

When these reigns of the rulers of Israel are placed one after another as they were on Josephus' pattern, without overlapping and without gaps between reigns, the length of the period involved will be two hundred thirty-nine years, seven months, and seven days. But Josephus declares that the end of the ten tribes came "two hundred and forty years, seven months, and seven days after they had revolted from Rehoboam" (*Ant.* IX. xiii. 1). What is responsible for this discrepancy of one year? In connection with this question we may also ask why it is that Josephus places the beginning of Hezekiah's reign in the fourth rather than the third year of Hoshea, one year later than it appears in the Hebrew text. And why does he synchronize the fall of Samaria with the seventh year of Hezekiah rather than the sixth—again one year later than the synchronism of II Kings 18:10? We will return to these questions later, but let us notice that we have incontestable evidence here of two distinct patterns just a year apart.

This completes our presentation of the variants in Josephus' pattern of the kings. As we have examined these variant figures it has become clear that they are not isolated and accidental variations due to blunders of copyists, but they fit into a definite pattern. This pattern differs in many important respects from that of the Massoretic text. The vital question is whether these figures of Josephus are earlier and more accurate than those of the Hebrew, or whether they are late modifications. Either the Hebrew pattern is a modification of that of Josephus, or that of Josephus is a modification of the Hebrew. Our task is to determine which.

Inasmuch as the pattern of Josephus covers the entire period of the divided monarchies, it will be possible to secure the dates for the kings of both Judah and Israel as they would appear on the pattern of Josephus as here set forth, and to compare these dates with those of the Massoretic text and with certain established dates in Near Eastern history. In the tables to follow we give the year when each ruler of Judah and Israel during the period of the divided monarchies began his reign. All reigns have been reckoned according to the accession-year system, except where the available evidence makes it clear that some other system was used. As a base the date 723 is used for the fall of Samaria and for the year 240 of Josephus' era. Dates given are for the beginning of the sole reign.

It will be noticed that when the year 723 is used as the date for the fall of Samaria in both Josephus and the Massoretic text, the dates of Josephus continue to grow larger compared with the Hebrew, until at the time of the schism there is a divergence of thirty-one years.

Kings of Israel	Year of Era	Josephus' Date	Massoretic Date
Jeroboam I	1	962	931/30
Nadab	22	941	910/9
Baasha	24	939	909/8
Elah	48	915	886/85
Zimri	50	913	885/84
Omri	50	913	880
Ahab	62	901	874/73
Ahaziah	84	879	853
Joram	86	877	852
Jehu	98	865	841
Jehoahaz	125	838	814/13
Jehoash	142	821	798
Jeroboam II	158	805	782/81
Zachariah	198	765	753
Shallum	198	765	752
Menahem	198	765	752
Pekahiah	208	755	742/41
Pekah	210	753	740/39
Hoshea	230	733	732/31

Kings of Judah	Year of Era	Josephus' Date	Massoretic Date
Rehoboam	1	962	931/30
Abijam	17	946	913
Asa	20	943	911/10
Jehoshaphat	64	899	870/69
Jehoram	89	874	848
Ahaziah	97	866	841
Athaliah	98	865	841
Joash	104	859	835
Amaziah	144	819	796
Azariah	172	791	767
Jotham	210	753	740
Ahaz	218	745	732/31
Hezekiah	234	729	716

We next present certain dates of Josephus as compared with the years for the same events as established by synchronisms with dated events in Near Eastern history:

Event	Date of Josephus	Established Date	Discrepancy
Death of Ahab	878	853	25 years
Accession of Jehu	864	841	23 years
Accession of Hoshea	733	732	1 year
Fall of Samaria (7th of Hezekiah) ..	723	723	None
14th year of Hezekiah	716	701	15 years

Having started with the year 723 as the year 240 of Josephus' era, the seventh year of Hezekiah and the fall of Samaria, we discover that Josephus' pattern is in agreement with the established chronology of the Near East at no other point. For the accession of Jehu, his pattern

is twenty-three years in error, and for the death of Ahab, the error is twenty-five years. Assyrian documents provide evidence that the interval between the death of Ahab and the accession of Jehu cannot be more than twelve years, but according to Josephus' pattern the interval is fourteen years. Assyrian evidence has also provided the date 701 for Sennacherib's attack upon the cities of Judah and the fourteenth year of Hezekiah. Josephus' date for this event is fifteen years in error.

The above shows clearly that the pattern of Josephus cannot be the original pattern of the kings, and that his variant figures are late rather than early, and wrong rather than right. In no instance has a variant figure of Josephus been more correct than the corresponding figure in the Massoretic text. For Hezekiah and Hoshea he follows the general data of the Massoretic text, but with such variations as show him to be more confused than the late copyist originally responsible for the synchronisms of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen.

In most instances the variant figures of Josephus are of such a nature that their origin can be clearly ascertained. Not understanding the chronological principles behind the data of the Massoretic text, he felt that many of the figures there given were wrong and in need of correction, and consequent adjustments were made.

Josephus' first variant is the synchronism for Omri's accession, the thirtieth year of Asa as against the thirty-first year in MT. It will be remembered that at this time the accession-year system was used in Judah and nonaccession-year reckoning in Israel. This adjustment was clearly necessitated by Josephus' attempt to reckon the years of Israel as well as Judah according to the accession-year system.

The next two variations go together—the figure twenty-seven instead of twenty-eight as the length of Jehu's reign, and the accession of Jehoahaz in the twenty-first instead of the twenty-third year of Joash. Josephus' difficulty here was due to three causes, (1) his reckoning the reign of Athaliah as six years rather than seven, (2) his failure to recognize Nisan-to-Nisan reckoning in Israel as against Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning in Judah, and (3) his use of the accession-year system in both Israel and Judah instead of the nonaccession-year system in both countries, as was the practice at this time. Josephus' failure to understand these points not only involved him in difficulties concerning the harmonization of the data of the Massoretic text, but also in an error regarding the proper number of years involved in the period in question. The patterns of Josephus and the Massoretic text for this period are as follows:

JOSEPHUS

Athaliah Joash

1 2 3 4 5 6 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 (21) 22 23
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27
Jehu (ac) 1

Jehoahaz

MASSORETIC TEXT

Athaliah Joash

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 (1) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
 1 2 3 4 5 6 (7) 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

In Josephus' pattern as given above, his reckoning of the reign of Joash according to the accession-year method would synchronize the accession of this king with the sixth rather than the seventh year of Jehu, which is the synchronism of the Massoretic text. If he had used the same figure as MT. for the reign of Jehu, twenty-eight years, he could have synchronized the accession of Jehoahaz with the twenty-second rather than the twenty-first year of Joash. That would have been an adjustment of only one year rather than two years in the synchronism, and no adjustment whatever in the length of Jehu's reign. Why make such a complicated adjustment when a simpler one would have sufficed? The reason can be seen when we look ahead to the next section of the pattern being followed by Josephus. For the accession of Amaziah in Judah, Josephus gives the synchronism of the second year of Jehoash in Israel. This is in harmony with the figure in the Massoretic text. That synchronism was the first given by Josephus for any king of Judah. It probably was given for a reason. At least it helps us to understand the pattern Josephus followed. Except for the adjustment just noticed in the reduction of Jehu's reign from twenty-eight to twenty-seven years, and in the reduction of the synchronizing year of Jehoahaz' accession, from the twenty-third to the twenty-first year of Joash, Josephus would not have been able to synchronize the accession of Amaziah with the second year of Jehoash. Let us see how his pattern would have appeared had he left Jehu's reign at twenty-eight years and reduced the synchronism of Jehoahaz' accession by only one year rather than two:

Joash J (ac) *Amaziah*
 (22) 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40
Jehu 28 (ac) (1) *Jehoash Is.*
 (ac) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
Jehoahaz

It will be seen that according to such a pattern, the accession of Amaziah would have synchronized with the first rather than the second year of Jehoash of Israel. It was this latter synchronism of MT. which Josephus in this instance was following, as we know from the fact that he included it with other synchronisms of this period in his record.

The next variant was Josephus' synchronization of the accession of Azariah with the fourteenth year of Jeroboam rather than the twenty-seventh year, which is the number in the Massoretic text. The reason for this adjustment is obvious when his pattern is observed:

Amaziah *Azariah*
 (1) 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 (15) 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29
 (2) 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 (ac) 1
Jeboash ls. (ac) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 (14) 15
Jeroboam II

We have just called attention to the fact that the first synchronism of Josephus in *Antiquities* for a king of Judah is the accession of Amaziah in the second year of Jehoash of Israel, a synchronism which is in harmony with the Massoretic text. Jehoash reigned sixteen years, which would cause the termination of his reign to synchronize with the fifteenth year of Amaziah. In such a case the accession of Jeroboam II would synchronize with the fifteenth year of Amaziah. This synchronism Josephus also has in his record, and it is likewise the synchronism of MT. If the accession of Jeroboam synchronized with the fifteenth year of Amaziah, his fourteenth year would synchronize with the twenty-ninth year of Amaziah. That is the last year of Amaziah, and according to the pattern that Josephus was endeavoring to follow, that would also be the year of Azariah's accession. We thus have the reason for Josephus' placing the accession of Azariah in the fourteenth year of Jeroboam instead of the twenty-seventh year as in the Massoretic text.

The pattern of Josephus is here very simple and seemingly entirely consistent. Each reign follows its predecessor in regular sequence without any overlapping of years—never any coregencies in either Israel or Judah. This all looks very nice until we compare the years of Josephus' pattern with those of contemporary history, when we discover that his chronology is far too long, and that the further back he goes, the greater the discrepancy grows. This proves conclusively that in order to be really correct he must either provide for an overlapping of reigns, or the figures employed for the lengths of reign must be reduced. This would require rather violent modifica-

tions all the way along, in both synchronisms as well as lengths of reign. The simple facts are that when the Massoretic text places Azariah's accession in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam, it is passing on to us an extremely important bit of chronological information, and that is that there was a coregency in existence at this time between Jeroboam and his father Jehoash. In Josephus' modification of the figure for this synchronism from the twenty-seventh to the fourteenth year of Jeroboam, he cast away this vital evidence of this coregency, and instead of making the problem easier he made it far more difficult, leaving a chronological pattern as to lengths of reign that is widely at variance with the years of contemporary history.

Josephus' next variant is his figure of forty years for the reign of Jeroboam as against forty-one years in the Massoretic text. The reason for this reduction of one year in the length of Jeroboam's reign is not immediately apparent, but it may be connected with a number of other items involving adjustments or discrepancies of a single year in this area. We have already called attention to the fact that Josephus gives the length of the period from Jeroboam to Hoshea as two hundred forty years, seven months, and seven days, while the totals of the figures given by him for these reigns comes to only two hundred thirty-nine years, seven months, and seven days. Might this reduction of Jeroboam's reign from forty-one to forty years have anything to do with this discrepancy of one year? We also noticed that Josephus placed the accession of Hezekiah in the fourth year of Hoshea as compared with the third year in MT. Thus the reign of Hezekiah in Judah as compared with Israel is here one year ahead of where it appears on the pattern of the Massoretic text. Might the pattern he followed have originally involved two hundred and forty years for both Judah and Israel, and because of some adjustment, have come to involve only two hundred and thirty-nine years for Israel as against two hundred and forty years for Judah? The fact that Josephus places the fall of Samaria in the seventh instead of the sixth year of Hezekiah as it is given in the Massoretic text indicates a pattern in which the years of Hezekiah are pushed one year ahead of those of Israel.

It is clear that our pattern for this last period of the divided monarchies, as we have here reconstructed it, is not in keeping with all the requirements given by Josephus. According to our pattern the ninth and last year of Hoshea would fall in the year 239 of Josephus' era, and the seventh year of Hezekiah would fall in the year 240. But Josephus synchronizes the seventh year of Hezekiah with the ninth

year of Hoshea as the year of Samaria's fall and the end of the Northern Kingdom, and he gives the year 240 for this event. If these are the data given by Josephus, then why do we not reconstruct this pattern in harmony with these requirements rather than give the pattern we did? Let us present an arrangement of these reigns in which the year 240 becomes both the seventh year of Hezekiah and the ninth year of Hoshea, and let us follow that with the arrangement previously given where the fall of Samaria took place in the year 239 of Josephus' era:

1. PATTERN 240

233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
Abaz	Hezekiah						
15	16						
	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	(7)
2	(3)	4	5	6	(7)	8	(9)
Hoshea						Samaria besieged	
						Samaria captured	

2. PATTERN 239

233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240
Abaz	Hezekiah						
15	16						
	(1)	2	3	4	5	6	(7)
3	(4)	5	6	(7)	8	(9)	
Hoshea				Samaria besieged			
						Samaria captured	

As we examine the first of these patterns, we might at first glance be apt to say that this rather than the second is the one which Josephus followed. But is it? It is true that according to this new arrangement, Samaria falls and Israel comes to its end in the year 240, and that year is both the seventh year of Hezekiah and the ninth year of Hoshea. So in this sense we can say that this is the pattern of Josephus. But Josephus synchronizes the beginning of Hezekiah's reign with the fourth year of Hoshea, and that is the case only on the second of the above two patterns, not the first. And we have already mentioned the fact that when the reigns of Israel's kings are allowed to follow one another in regular sequence, without overlappings and without gaps, and when the figures of Josephus for the lengths of these reigns are followed, the ninth and last year of Hoshea falls in the year 239, not 240. That fits pattern number two, but not number one.

It will be noticed that on both of these patterns nonaccession-rather than accession-year reckoning was used for Hezekiah's reign. The reason for this is that in both these instances, the pattern requires that type of reckoning. If, for instance, the accession year of Hezekiah had on our first pattern been synchronized with the six-

teenth and last year of Ahaz and with the third year of Hoshea, his first year would have synchronized with the fourth year of Hoshea, in the year 235, and his seventh year would have fallen in the year 241—one year later than Hoshea's ninth year in 240. And if on the second of these patterns the accession year of Hezekiah had fallen in the year 234, as synchronizing with the fourth year of Hoshea, then Hezekiah's first year would have synchronized with the fifth year of Hoshea in 235, and his seventh year would have fallen in 241—two years after the ninth year of Hoshea in 239. It thus is clear that accession-year reckoning was not the method employed on either of these patterns.

As we look over these patterns it becomes clear that neither the first nor the second meets all the requirements of Josephus. The second is the pattern secured as we follow along with the data of Josephus and allow the reigns to fall where they will. The first is the pattern secured when we take Josephus' figures for the termination of the Northern Kingdom, and move backwards from there.

Why is there this strange divergency between these two arrangements of reigns? One glance reveals the fact that there is only one difference between the two—on Pattern 239 the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah in Judah have been moved one year ahead as compared with the reign of Hoshea. Or, putting it the other way around, the pattern of Hoshea in Israel has been moved one year back as compared with the kings of Judah.

With two such patterns before us it is clear that there must have been some reason which led to these two divergent arrangements of reigns. Let us endeavor to ascertain what that might have been. We have noticed that one fundamental difference between Patterns 240 and 239 is that the first places Hezekiah's accession in the third year of Hoshea, while the second places it in the fourth year. The first synchronism is in harmony with the Massoretic text. Since we have every evidence that the pattern of MT. is earlier than that of Josephus, we must regard Josephus' synchronism for Hezekiah's accession as a modification of the Hebrew. Why would such an adjustment have been made? Let us synchronize the beginning of Hezekiah's reign with the fourth year of Hoshea, and moving back from there, notice the results:

<i>Ahaz</i>				<i>Hezekiah</i>
12	13	14	15	16
				(1)
ac	1	2	3	(4)
<i>Hoshea</i>				

It will be observed that when the beginning of Hezekiah's reign is synchronized with the sixteenth and last year of Ahaz and with the fourth year of Hoshea, the accession of Hoshea synchronizes with the twelfth year of Ahaz. That is in harmony with the data of the Massoretic text in II Kings 17:1. We may thus see clearly the reason responsible for the difficulty in which Josephus, or the sources which he employed, became involved. The endeavor was made to follow II Kings 17:1 for the beginning of Hoshea's reign, and synchronizing the accession of Hoshea with the twelfth year of Ahaz, he moved on in accordance with his very simple method of reckoning in which a year for Israel was always identical with a year for Judah, and he thus found that the sixteenth year of Ahaz synchronized with the fourth year of Hoshea. This being the last year of Ahaz, it seemed clear that Hezekiah must have come to the throne in the fourth year of Hoshea, not the third year as was the figure in the Massoretic text. It thus becomes evident that Josephus knew nothing of Tishri-to-Tishri years for Judah and of Nisan-to-Nisan years for Israel. Let us notice the pattern of the Massoretic text for these kings:

<i>Ahaz</i>					<i>Hezekiah</i>
(12)	13	14	15	(	16)
(ac)		1	2	(	ac)
	<i>Hoshea</i>			(3)

It is clear that if the principle of Nisan-to-Nisan reckoning of the regnal year in Israel and Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning of that year in Judah had been understood by Josephus, he would not have become involved in the problem which led to the modification of the Massoretic figure for Hezekiah's accession.

The above difficulties, it will be noticed, are found in the area of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen. Since Josephus did not understand the principle of Nisan-to-Nisan years in Israel as against Tishri-to-Tishri years in Judah, but since this was understood by the individual responsible for Pattern Twelve-Thirteen, it is clear that, late though the latter was, he was better informed on this point than was Josephus or the source employed by him.

If the reign of Hezekiah began in the fourth rather than the third year of Hoshea, what about the synchronisms of the succeeding years? The Massoretic text synchronized the sixth year of Hezekiah with the ninth and last year of Hoshea, but in Josephus it is Hezekiah's seventh year which synchronizes with Hoshea's last year and with Samaria's fall. It is thus clear that in Josephus the whole reign

of Hezekiah has been moved one year ahead in comparison with the reign of Hoshea. Or, putting it the other way around, the years of Israel for this period have been moved one year back as compared with the Massoretic pattern for the reigns of Judah.

In the earliest reconstruction of this period by Josephus it seems that the year 240 must have been secured as the year of Samaria's fall, and if that was the case, then the figures used for the reigns of Israel's kings must have been such as to total two hundred and forty rather than two hundred and thirty-nine. Later some adjustment must have been made which threw the years of Israel one year back as compared with the years of Judah. It is entirely possible that it was in this connection that the figure for the years of Jeroboam's reign was reduced from forty-one to forty. This is the only reason I am able to offer for this variation.

The details of the two distinct patterns for this period are as follows:

	Pattern 239	Pattern 240
Reign of Jeroboam II.	40 years	41 years
Accession of Hezekiah.	4th of Hoshea	3d of Hoshea
9th year of Hoshea.	6th of Hezekiah	7th of Hezekiah
Total years for Israel.	239 years	240 years

The data at present found in *Antiquities* are not entirely in harmony with either of these patterns, but they are partially in accord with one and partially in accord with the other. In Pattern 239 the first two items are as they appear in Josephus, and in Pattern 240, the last two items are in accord with his data. Since Josephus, however, does not agree with himself—since he gives figures for the reigns of the kings which total two hundred and thirty-nine years but makes the statement that the total is two hundred and forty, and since one of his synchronisms fits the one pattern and the other fits the other—it is not possible to present any single reconstruction in harmony with all his data. The probabilities are that Josephus borrowed his figures from two distinct sources which followed patterns one year at variance with each other.

Two minor items remain. Josephus places the war of Amaziah with Jehoash of Israel in Amaziah's fourteenth year (*Ant.* IX. ix. 3). This item is not found in the Massoretic text. Where did Josephus secure it? We know that the death of Jehoash took place in Amaziah's fourteenth or fifteenth year, for Amaziah reigned twenty-nine years (II Kings 14:2), and he lived fifteen years after the death of Jehoash (II Kings 14:17). It thus seems that Josephus, or the source from

which he borrowed, saw some relationship between this statement concerning the time of the death of Jehoash and the humiliating defeat he inflicted upon Amaziah. However, there is no evidence of any connection between the statement of II Kings 14:17 and the war between Amaziah and Jehoash.

Our last variant is Josephus' figure of three months and ten days for the length of Jehoahaz' reign as against three months in the Massoretic text. The length of Jehoiachin's reign is also given as three months and ten days in II Chron. 36:9, a figure which Josephus follows in *Ant.* X. vi. 3. This raises the question as to whether both Jehoahaz and Jehoiachin had reigns of three months and ten days, or whether this was the case only with Jehoiachin. Since Josephus reckoned reigns consecutively, and since in his totals he gives details as to days as well as months and years, his total for the period of Judah's reigns should, if Jehoahaz as well as Jehoiachin had reigned three months and ten days, include the figure of twenty days. Josephus' final figure is ten days (*Ant.* X. viii. 5), not twenty, which indicates that only one reign involving ten days occurred. The figure of ten days for Jehoahaz in addition to the three months given him in the Hebrew text, was no doubt inadvertently taken over from the length of Jehoiachin's reign in II Chron. 36:9.

This completes our study of the variant figures of Josephus. In no case have we found evidence that any of his variants is more reliable than the figures of the Massoretic text. We have had evidence, however, that though his pattern of reigns may be simple, it is not sound. The system followed by Josephus was an artificial system—the system of a late chronologist rather than that of a contemporary scribe. The one recorded the facts as they took place, the other interpreted the data according to his own deductions. The variations of Josephus clearly reveal the struggles then going on in regard to the chronology of the kings. At that early period the Hebrews themselves had already lost the secrets of their own system of chronological reckoning, and their scholars regarded the figures of the kings as having become corrupt and being in need of correction. Modifications were made with the object of securing more harmonious patterns of reigns than were found in the Hebrew text. Today the interesting results of these efforts may be observed. Our respect for the figures of the Massoretic text has nothing to lose from a careful study of the variant figures of Josephus or any other early extra-Biblical source.

Chapter Eleven

MODERN CHRONOLOGICAL SYSTEMS

NO DISCUSSION of the chronology of the kings would be complete without a brief survey of some of the modern systems of Hebrew chronology. In our discussion of the variant figures of the Septuagint, the Lucianic revision, and Josephus, we noticed that the diverse numbers for the kings found in these sources give evidence of the struggle that was going on with the problems of Old Testament chronology at that early age. All through the centuries these struggles continued. The many systems of Hebrew chronology in the field today give evidence of the interest that still exists in this subject and of the efforts still being made to bring this knotty problem to a more successful solution.

No doubt the best known and the most widely used system of Hebrew chronology is that found in the margins of reference editions of the King James Version. This is the system of James Ussher, the famous Irish divine and archbishop who in 1650-54 published his *Annales Veteris et Novi Testamenti*. Because of its close association with the most common English Bible, this system has come to be looked upon by many as the true system of Biblical chronology, and in many circles it receives almost the same veneration as does the sacred text itself.

Archbishop Ussher was a scholar of no mean ability and in the preparation of his chronology made a contribution of real value for his time. But Ussher lived at an age before the many historical records of ancient Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt were uncovered, and before the many important facts concerning the history of the ancient East now available to modern scholarship had been brought to light. Today many of the imperfections of Ussher's chronological system are well understood. It is known that this cannot be the original pattern of reigns of the Hebrew kings, that it is a system whose agreement with the requirements of the Massoretic text are imaginary rather than real, and that many of its dates are grossly in error. For instance, the margin of the King James Version gives Ussher's date of 897 for the death of Ahab, whereas there is positive evidence that Ahab was still alive and a participant at the Battle of Qarqar in 853, forty-four years

after Ussher's date has him in the grave. The beginning of Jehu's reign is dated by Ussher in 884, but it was in 841 that Jehu, when he first took Israel's throne, paid tribute to Shalmaneser III. The accession of Hezekiah is placed by Ussher in 727, but Assyrian evidence establishes that date as 716/15.

The fact that in the period of the kings Ussher's system grows progressively longer as compared with the established dates of Near Eastern history is an indication of errors that had crept into his system of which he was not aware. This should first of all raise suspicion concerning the interregna introduced by him in the effort to secure a semblance of harmony between his arrangement of the kings and the data of the Hebrew text. As the record of II Kings 14:23-29 is carefully studied, there will be found no hint of a period between the time that Jeroboam II died and that his son Zachariah began to reign, without a ruler on the throne. Yet at this place (margin of II Kings 14:29, King James Version), Ussher invented an interregnum of eleven or twelve years in order to secure a seeming compliance of his system with the data of the Massoretic text. Yet again, in II Kings 15:30 the statement is made that "Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah." The record indicates that Hoshea began his reign immediately after he had deposed Pekah, and the Assyrian evidence proves this to be the case. But here again Ussher created an interregnum of nine years, in order to secure a seeming harmony between his dates for the kings and the figures of the Massoretic text. It is this invention of Ussher which is responsible for the marginal comment accompanying II Kings 15:30, "After an anarchy for some years." These comments, however, come from our modern age and are far removed from the original data concerning the kings of Israel and Judah. But such is human nature that, once such marginal notes are introduced, they come in time to be regarded as part of the sacred text itself and are accepted as possessing the same validity as do the original writings of the ancient Hebrew scribes.

When patterns of reigns of the Hebrew kings are being constructed, it should be remembered that what is sought is an actual picture of how these kings once lived and how their reigns fitted into the events of neighboring states. Hebrew chronology is something more than an artificial arrangement of figures that might look well on paper but which will not bear the test of careful scrutiny. We have shown how Ussher's system fails to measure up to the requirements of the estab-

lished chronology of the ancient East. Let us examine it from the standpoint of internal evidence.

The following are the systems employed by Ussher for reckoning the reigns of the kings as they appear on the pattern produced by him:

JUDAH

Rehoboam	Nonaccession year
Abijam	Inconsequent accession year
Asa	Accession year
Jehoshaphat	Accession year
Jehoram	Nonaccession year, beginning coregency
Ahaziah	Nonaccession year
Athaliah	Inconsequent accession year
Joash	Inconsequent accession year
Amaziah	Accession year, beginning coregency
Azariah	Accession year
Jotham	Inconsequent accession year
Ahaz	Accession year
Hezekiah	Accession year, beginning coregency

ISRAEL

Jeroboam I	Nonaccession year
Nadab	Nonaccession year
Baasha	Nonaccession year
Elah	Nonaccession year
Zimri	Nonaccession year
Omri	Nonaccession year
Ahab	Nonaccession year
Ahaziah	Nonaccession year, beginning coregency
Joram	Accession year
Jehu	Inconsequent accession year
Jehoahaz	Inconsequent accession year
Jehoash	Accession year, beginning coregency
Jeroboam II	Inconsequent accession year
Zachariah	Nonaccession year, after interregnum
Shallum	Inconsequent accession year
Menahem	Accession year
Pekahiah	Inconsequent accession year
Pekah	Inconsequent accession year
Hoshea	Accession year, after interregnum

As these systems are examined, it will be noticed that except for a short period in Israel, they portray no uniformity of procedure. The reign of one king is reckoned according to one system, the next according to another, and the third according to still another system—a system that never existed in fact but is of itself evidence of confusion and error. The entire scheme of Ussher is simply an arrangement of numbers for the kings which when put down on paper has a delusive appearance of harmony, but which on careful examination

gives evidence of being only an erroneous, confused, and highly artificial arrangement of chronological data.

When the nature of so-called inconsequent accession-year reckoning is understood, it will be clear that every time this type of reckoning is invoked, it gives evidence of the existence of error and confusion. To make this clear, let us notice only one example from the Azariah-Menahem period. Menahem ruled ten years when he was succeeded by Pekahiah in the fiftieth year of Azariah. Pekahiah ruled two years when he was succeeded by Pekah in the fifty-second year of Azariah. Azariah ruled fifty-two years when he was succeeded by Jotham in the second year of Pekah. The following is Ussher's arrangement of these reigns:

Anno Mundi	Anni Regum Iudae	Anni Regum Israëlis	Annoan- te aegram Christia
3242	49 Azariah	10 Menahem	762
3243	50 Azariah	1 Pekahiah	761
3244	51 Azariah	2 Pekahiah	760
3245	52 Azariah	1 Pekah	759
3246	1 Jotham	2 Pekah	758

At first glance the above pattern appears to be a marvel of simplicity and harmony. But let us examine it. Menahem ruled ten years. He therefore died in the year 3242 A.M., and unless there was to be an interregnum he must have been succeeded by Pekahiah in the year 3242. And if the pattern is to be in harmony with the data of the Massoretic text, then the year 3242 would have to mark the year when Pekahiah came to the throne and it would also need to be the fiftieth year of Azariah. But on Ussher's pattern it is neither. Menahem died in the year 3242. But it was not till the following year, 3243, that another ruler sat on the throne of Israel, since Pekahiah did not, according to Ussher, come to the throne till 3243, in the fiftieth year of Azariah. Pekahiah ruled two years and was put to death by Pekah, in the year 3244. When, then, should Pekah have come to the throne? In the year 3244, for that was the year when he slew Pekahiah and seized his throne, and if that accession were in agreement with the data of the Massoretic text, that would also have to be the fifty-second year of Azariah. But according to Ussher's pattern, 3245 rather than 3244 is the fifty-second year of Azariah. So he waits till the next

year after the death of Pekahiah before beginning the reign of Pekah. Thus again there is a year without a king on Israel's throne.

Now let us notice the pattern for Judah. Azariah died in his fifty-second year, 3245. If that is the case, then he should have been succeeded by his son Jotham in the year 3245, and that ought to be the second year of Pekah. But since 3246 rather than 3245 is the second year of Pekah according to his pattern, Ussher places the beginning of Jotham's reign one year after the death of his father.

If the position is taken that Azariah did not die in 3245 but in 3246, then it will be clear that in such a case a year would have to be added to his reign, for 3246 would not be the fifty-second but the fifty-third year of Azariah. Thus also with Menahem and Pekahiah. If we say that Menahem died in the year 3243 rather than 3242, then his reign would have been eleven rather than ten years in length. And if Pekahiah ruled till 3245 rather than 3244, his reign would have been three years rather than two, with 3243 as his first year, 3244 as his second year, and 3245 as his third year.

In this short period covering only five years, Ussher has three interregna of one year each, and he has the reigns of three kings of Israel and Judah one year out of place in relation to each other.

It should be made clear that on such a pattern as this there is no actual agreement with the Biblical data, but only a fallacious and highly deceptive arrangement of figures. Every time Ussher has in this short space of five years had recourse to the inconsequent accession-year system he has two errors on his pattern, one for Israel and another for Judah. Inconsequent accession-year reckoning is not a system that was ever employed in either Israel or Judah, but it is simply a device introduced by late chronologists to secure a semblance of harmony in a chronological pattern in which actual harmony does not exist.

Let us notice only one more item from Ussher. According to the Massoretic text, Joram of Israel began his reign in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat and the second year of Jehoram of Judah, while Jehoram of Judah began his reign in the fifth year of Joram of Israel. Ussher's arrangement of these reigns is shown on page 233.

It will be noticed that on this pattern Ahaziah came to the throne in Israel in the year 3106, the twenty-first year of Ahab. Thus 3107 is both the twenty-second and last year of Ahab and the second and last year of Ahaziah, and also the accession year of Joram. Joram's accession is synchronized with both the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat and the second year of Jehoram of Judah. In order to bring about this synchronization, Ussher brings Jehoram to the throne in Judah

as "Pro Rex" in the year 3106, the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat. In this way the next year, 3107, becomes both the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat and the second year of Jehoram as "Pro Rex." But if Jehoram would now continue to reign as Pro Rex in Judah, the synchronization of his accession in the fifth year of Joram in Israel cannot be made to fit, so Jehoram's term as Pro Rex is allowed to lapse as soon as this particular synchronism has served its purpose, and then five years later he is brought to the throne again with his father, this time as "Co Rex." Thus a synchronization is secured of Jehoram's accession in Judah in the fifth year of Joram of Israel. Finally, two years later, in 3114, Jehoram comes to the throne a third time, this time in his own right, at the time of his father's death.

Anno Mundi	Anni Regum Iudae	Anni Regum Israëlis	Annoan- te aegram Christia
3106	17 Jehoshaphat 1 Jehoram, Pro Rex	21 Ahab 1 Ahaziah	898
3107	18 Jehoshaphat 2 Jehoram, Pro Rex	22 Ahab 2 Ahaziah ac Joram	897
3108	19 Jehoshaphat	1 Joram	896
3109	20 Jehoshaphat	2 Joram	895
3110	21 Jehoshaphat	3 Joram	894
3111	22 Jehoshaphat	4 Joram	893
3112	23 Jehoshaphat 1 Jehoram, Co Rex	5 Joram	892
3113	24 Jehoshaphat 2 Jehoram, Co Rex	6 Joram	891
3114	25 Jehoshaphat 3 Jehoram, Co Rex	7 Joram	890
3115	4 Jehoram, sole reign	8 Joram	889

Such unwarranted manipulations of data as these for the purpose of securing a paper harmony are not sufficient, however, to reestablish the original pattern of reigns of the Hebrew kings. Only when a pattern has been secured that measures up with the established dates of contemporary history can we have the assurance that the correct dates for the Hebrew kings have been secured. When Ussher reckons the reign of one king according to one system, another to another system, and yet a third according to a system which merely reveals

the inadequacies of the arrangement that has been made, when he inserts one interregnum here and another there, and when he has recourse to many other types of artificial adjustment in order to secure a specious semblance of harmony, we can be certain that the system created by him in no wise represents the original pattern of reigns of the Hebrew kings. Ussher gives no evidence of having come to an understanding of the basic principles of Hebrew chronology; his system is not in harmony with the data of the Massoretic text, and it is far out of line with the requirements of contemporary history.

The inadequacies of Ussher's chronological system have long been recognized and have led to many attempts at improvement. One of these modern attempts was that of Martin Anstey who in 1913 published his *Romance of Bible Chronology*. Anstey follows the same general lines of Ussher, but he goes to greater extremes. Where Ussher's interregnum between Jeroboam and Zachariah was eleven years, that of Anstey is twenty-two years. For Judah he adds an interregnum of eleven years between the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah which is not found in Ussher's system. Ussher did his work three centuries ago, before the many contemporary historical documents from the ancient orient were available to Biblical scholars. Anstey had the benefits of the facts revealed by these ancient records, but he failed to deal with them seriously.

Anstey's date for the death of Ahab is 904—fifty-one years before the Assyrian date for the Battle of Qarqar at which Ahab fought in 853. This discrepancy he brushes aside by the declaration that there is a gap of fifty-one years in the Assyrian limmu lists. His date for the accession of Hoshea is 727, while the Assyrian evidence points to 732. The Assyrian date for Sennacherib's campaign is 701, but Anstey's date for the fourteenth year of Hezekiah when this campaign was fought is 711. The date of Anstey for the death of Azariah is 755. But that would make impossible his well-known contacts with Tiglath-pileser III who did not come to the throne till 745. According to Anstey, Menahem died in 758, which is thirteen years before the accession of Tiglath-pileser in 745. Thus Anstey's date for Menahem again makes impossible any contacts between these two kings.

It should be borne in mind that there is no period in Assyrian history where the chronology is better established than it is in this period in which the above-mentioned difficulties of Anstey's chronology occur. This is the very time when the Khorsabad King List came into being and where it completely corroborates the correctness of the Assyrian Eponym Canon. If there had been a gap in the eponym list, the Khorsabad King List would have revealed that fact, for this is the

time for which it can speak with the greatest authority. It is in this period where the testimony of the eponym lists is supported by the evidence of Ptolemy's Canon. The absolute accuracy of the former is here established by the eclipse in the eponym year of Bur-Sagale, 763, and of the latter by the eclipse of 721 in the first year of Mardokempados. The numerous cross synchronisms in this period between the Assyrian Eponym List and Ptolemy's Canon make it possible for these two canons to be welded into one and used as a single chronological yardstick of indisputable authority. But it is in this century that some of the most extraordinary efforts are made to ignore the vital evidence of these indisputable authorities, and to postulate a gap of fifty-one years in the Assyrian records.

An examination of the methods employed by Anstey in his reckoning the reigns of Judah and Israel may be of interest. They are as follows:

JUDAH

Rehoboam	.....	Accession year
Abijam	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Asa	.....	Accession year
Jehoshaphat	.....	Accession year
Jehoram	.....	Coregent, nonaccession year
Ahaziah	.....	Nonaccession year
Athaliah	.....	Accession year
Joash	.....	Nonaccession year
Amaziah	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Azariah	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Jotham	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Ahaz	.....	Accession year
Hezekiah	.....	Coregent, accession year

ISRAEL

Jeroboam I	.....	Accession year
Nadab	.....	Nonaccession year
Baasha	.....	Nonaccession year
Elah	.....	Nonaccession year
Tibni	.....	Nonaccession year
Omri	.....	Nonaccession year
Ahab	.....	Nonaccession year
Ahaziah	.....	Nonaccession year
Joram	.....	Nonaccession year
Jehu	.....	Accession year
Jehoahaz	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Jehoash	.....	Coregent, inconsequent accession year
Jeroboam II	.....	Nonaccession year
Zachariah	.....	Nonaccession year
Shallum	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Menahem	.....	Accession year
Pekahiah	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Pekah	.....	Inconsequent accession year
Hoshea	.....	Nonaccession year

While Anstey's pattern has a semblance of holding to the data of the Massoretic text, a careful examination reveals the fact that any harmony between his system and that of the Massoretic text is one of appearances only. It is a paper system with an artificial harmony, a system in which reigns are arranged in almost any conceivable way so that harmony may appear to exist although it is not actually present. Anstey did not understand the difference between true accession-year reckoning and the inconsequent accession-year system, and he did not realize that every time that he made use of the latter system, he revealed a discrepancy in his pattern. Anstey did not grasp the fact that when a king came to the last year of his reign, his reign was over and that his successor came to the throne in that year, not the next. So when Anstey waits till the year following the death of a king before he begins the reign of a successor, he has a year without a king, and his pattern is off one year for that king, and also a year for the king of the other nation with whose reign that year is synchronized.

Anstey follows many of the inconsistencies of Ussher, and adds a number besides. Thus the pattern of Anstey is identical with that of Ussher for the final years of Azariah and the beginning of the reign of Jotham, where in the short period of five years the reigns of three kings are reckoned according to the deceptive inconsequent accession-year system.

In the arrangement of the years of Jehoram for a period as Pro Rex, then as Co Rex, and finally as king in his own right, Anstey follows the same pattern as that of Ussher.

For the period of Ahaziah and Athaliah, Anstey arranges the reigns as follows:

	Judah	Israel
843 B.C.	7 Jehoram 1 Ahaziah, Co Rex	11 Joram
842	8 Jehoram 1 Ahaziah, sole reign ac Athaliah	12 Joram ac Jehu

It will be seen that Ahaziah is here given two accessions, one in the eleventh year of Joram as Co Rex, and another in the twelfth year of Joram as sole ruler. It should be noticed that the synchronism placing Ahaziah's accession in the twelfth year of Joram appears earlier in the Book of Kings, chapter 8, verse 25, than does the synchronism of the eleventh of Joram, chapter 9, verse 29. This point should be kept in mind in connection with an item in the next chap-

ter regarding the sequence of synchronistical data appearing in the Books of Kings and its significance.

In the very difficult Azariah period, Anstey seeks to secure a semblance of conformity between his pattern and the data of the Massoretic text by inserting an interregnum of eleven years between the reigns of Amaziah and Azariah in Judah, and of twenty-two years between Jeroboam II and Zachariah in Israel. A comparison of the Biblical data as to lengths of reign with the years of Near Eastern chronology quickly reveals the fact, however, that we are here dealing not with a deficiency but a surplus of years and that the solution of this phase of our problem lies not in the direction of the invention of interregna but in the recognition of such coregencies as must have existed. The evidence which Anstey has here interpreted as pointing to two interregna of eleven and twenty-two years in Judah and Israel actually points to two coregencies of twelve and twenty-four years respectively for Jeroboam with Jehoash in Israel and Azariah with Amaziah in Judah. The evidence for each of these coregencies is found in the data concerning synchronisms and also in the lengths of reign, and will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The stretching out of the chronological pattern for this century beyond the years of an absolute chronology by the invention of these nonexistent interregna serves to throw Anstey's chronology far out of line with the chronology of contemporary events in neighboring states. This is a period from which there is available in Assyria an abundance of chronological materials in the form of lists of limmu officials, annals, the Khorsabad King List, and other documents, and also the important record of the solar eclipse in the month of Simanu during the eponymy of Bur-Sagale, 763 B.C. Seldom in ancient history is chronology so well established as it is in this century, yet Anstey endeavors to explain the discrepancy between his chronological pattern and that of Assyria at this point by postulating the complete dropping out of fifty-one years from the records of Assyria. Failing to understand the evidence of the Biblical data as to the coregencies existing at this time in both Judah and Israel, Anstey resorts to an invention of two interregna for the existence of which there is no evidence, either in the Biblical chronological data or the historical records of Chronicles and Kings, and he sets up a chronological scheme the accuracy of which is contradicted by every basic fact of contemporary history. This scheme of Anstey is one which would add fifty-one years which never existed to the history of Judah and Israel, and which would presume that fifty-one years had com-

pletely disappeared from one of the most soundly established chronological periods of Assyrian history. Such a chronology would throw off all Biblical dates beyond the eighth century B.C. fifty-one years from absolute time. Such totally unwarranted dates as are here set forth by Anstey would bring chaos into the study of Old Testament history and would make a farce rather than a sound historical science of the endeavor to correlate the events of the Old Testament records with the facts of contemporary history.

The thoughtful and conscientious student of the Bible and of ancient history would do well to consider carefully the rather serious involvements to which such a seemingly innocent substitution of two interregna for two coregencies might lead. A careful examination of all the recorded data for both Israel and Judah concerning synchronisms as well as lengths of reign, a due consideration of and respect for the historical materials so abundantly available today, and a compliance with the directives of the mathematics and logic involved, will enable the serious student to work his way step by step through a mass of data, frankly bewildering at times and often seemingly hopelessly in error, toward a more perfect pattern of reigns for the Hebrew kings than is here set forth in Anstey's chronological scheme.

The Massoretic text has two synchronisms for Hoshea's accession, that of II Kings 15:30, in the twentieth year of Jotham, and that of II Kings 17:1, in the twelfth year of Ahaz. Anstey's pattern for this period is as follows:

Year	Judah	Israel
739.....	ac Ahaz	16 Jotham
738.....	1 Ahaz	17 Pekah
737.....	2 Ahaz	18 Pekah
736.....	3 Ahaz	19 Pekah
735.....	4 Ahaz	20 Pekah
734.....	5 Ahaz	1 Interregnum
733.....	6 Ahaz	2 Interregnum
732.....	7 Ahaz	3 Interregnum
731.....	8 Ahaz	4 Interregnum
730.....	9 Ahaz	5 Interregnum
729.....	10 Ahaz	6 Interregnum
728.....	11 Ahaz	7 Interregnum
727.....	12 Ahaz	8 Interregnum
		1 Hoshea

The picture that the Massoretic text presents for this period is that Hoshea slew Pekah, seized his throne, and began to reign, and the synchronisms for the beginning of his reign are the twentieth year of Jotham and the twelfth year of Ahaz. According to the pattern of Anstey, the twentieth and last year of Pekah was 736, a year synchro-

nizing with the third year of Ahaz, and with what would have been the nineteenth year of Jotham if Jotham had continued his reign till that time. That being the case, according to Anstey's pattern, Hoshea should have come to the throne in the year 736, the year when Pekah was slain. But that year does not synchronize with either the twentieth year of Jotham or the twelfth year of Ahaz according to Anstey's arrangement. Instead of having Hoshea begin his reign in 736, he has an interregnum begin in the following year, 735. But if Pekah was slain in the year 736, and if no one at that time followed him on the throne, then the interregnum began in 736, the "nineteenth" year of Jotham, not the following year, 735, the "twentieth" year of Jotham. In order to secure a seeming compliance with the synchronism of II Kings 15:30 beginning Hoshea's reign in the twentieth year of Jotham, Anstey has an interregnum begin in the "nineteenth" year of Jotham, which on his chart is so arranged as to appear to begin in Jotham's twentieth year, whereas Hoshea is not brought to the throne till nine years later, in the year 727, the twelfth year of Ahaz. It should be clear that the beginning of an interregnum is not the beginning of the reign of Hoshea, and that the nineteenth year of Jotham is not the twentieth year of Jotham. Anstey has here strayed far from the data of the Massoretic text, he has produced a pattern that is hopelessly at variance with the facts of contemporary history, and a pattern that is far from being logically or mathematically sound.

In spite of following so largely the chronological pattern of Ussher, Anstey is at times rather critical of the work of Ussher. In speaking of the period of the termination of the reign of Amaziah and the accession of Azariah, where Anstey has inserted an interregnum of eleven years and where there is none according to Ussher, Anstey declares of Ussher: "He fell into the error because he had an axe to grind. He wanted to make our Lord's birth fall exactly 4,000 years after the creation of Adam. For this purpose he wanted to get rid of 7 years. He cuts out 11 years here and gets back 4 of them, one at a time, later on. But there is no room for doubt. The fact of the 11 years interregnum is as stable as any other fact which lies embedded in the Text, and cannot be ignored without throwing the whole scheme of the Chronology of the Text into hopeless confusion."¹ Anstey did not realize that it was by such steps as his unwarranted invention of interregna on his own part that the chronology of the kings has in such systems as his been thrown into hopeless confusion.

1. Martin Anstey, *The Romance of Bible Chronology* (London, 1913), p. 184. This work is now out of print.

No doubt he was sincere in his effort to secure a chronological scheme that would be in harmony with the data of the Massoretic text. But the chronology of Anstey is far from being in agreement with the figures of the Massoretic text, it shows no comprehension of the basic principles and solves none of the problems of Hebrew chronology, it is a specious arrangement of figures placed on paper in such a way as to convey the impression of representing something other than is actually the case, and it is sadly at variance with the facts of the contemporary history of the ancient East. The chronology of Anstey is not an improvement upon that of Ussher; it retains all the weaknesses, historical inaccuracies, and internal inconsistencies of Ussher and adds a number besides. Anstey had an opportunity which Ussher did not have of becoming acquainted with the many facts of Near Eastern history brought to light by modern archaeological research but he failed to take those facts seriously. The system of Anstey is neither Biblically, historically, mathematically, or logically sound.

Following the attacks of Wellhausen on the chronology of the Old Testament in which the position was taken that the synchronisms were late and of no historical value,² that the figures for the lengths of reign were artificial, schematic, and of questionable accuracy,³ and that the Hebrews could hardly be said to have possessed any statistics prior to the century 850-750 B.C.,⁴ a number of chronological systems came into being in which the main emphasis was not so much on the Biblical figures but on synchronisms with events in Near Eastern history which might provide reliable dates for the Hebrew kings. An excellent discussion of the more outstanding of these modern chronological systems is given by Joachim Begrich.⁵

One of the earlier of these modern systems is that of A. Kamphausen,⁶ in which the position was taken that though the figures for the years of reign were perfectly trustworthy, the synchronisms on the grounds of Wellhausen were secondary and historically worth-

2. Julius Wellhausen, "Die Zeitrechnung des Buches der Könige seit der Theilung des Reiches," *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, XX (1875), 607-40.

3. Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies (Edinburgh, 1885), pp. 272-74.

4. Julius Wellhausen, "Israel," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (9th ed.), Vol. XIII.

5. Joachim Begrich, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda und die Quellen des Rahmens der Königsbücher* (Tübingen, 1929), pp. 1-54.

6. A. Kamphausen, *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige: Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* (Bonn, 1883).

less. For the purpose of correcting mistakes that supposedly had crept into the Biblical record, Assyrian dates were used.

The chronology of Fr. Rühl appeared a few years later.⁷ Rühl shared the views of Wellhausen and Kamphausen regarding the untrustworthiness of the synchronisms, and pointed out the fact that, while the figures given for the lengths of reign could be regarded as accurate, these figures were those of the official rather than actual years. Reckoning the years of the kings of both Israel and Judah from the schism to the deaths of Joram and Ahaziah, on the nonaccession-year basis, Rühl secured the sum of ninety years each for both Israel and Judah, a figure which was exactly right. From there on, however, his scheme would no longer work, and he had recourse to a corruption of the figures as an explanation of the seeming discrepancies.

In 1922 the problem was discussed by F. X. Kugler,⁸ a thoroughly competent scholar in the field of chronology. This was no doubt the most serious approach to the problems of Old Testament chronology which had appeared up till that time. Kugler believed that the Hebrew and Assyrian figures could in the main be reconciled. While admitting the occurrence of mistakes in the Biblical figures, he felt that these errors were not nearly so frequent as had previously been supposed. He took a particular interest in the synchronisms, pointing out the fact that if in the fifteen synchronisms from the schism to Jehu, only one of the figures given for the lengths of reign would fit properly, then the difficulties involved could not be ascribed solely to the synchronisms. He likewise pointed out the fact that if all the lengths of reign from Jeroboam I and Rehoboam to Jeroboam II and Amaziah were regarded as correct, then eighteen out of the twenty synchronisms involved in this period must be regarded as being in error. But to put all the blame on the synchronisms and none on the lengths of reign he did not feel was the correct approach to the problem. So he came to the conclusion that the figures for the lengths of reign must at least be partly at fault, or that the meaning of these figures was not correctly understood, and certainly that the synchronisms must be regarded as being more nearly correct than was generally believed. Kugler thus took up the cudgels in behalf of the synchronisms, pointing to indications that they were on the whole early and accurate. The two synchronisms between Hoshea and Ahaz, and Hezekiah and Hoshea he regarded as coming from a late reviser and

7. Fr. Rühl, "Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda," *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, XII (1894/95), 44-76.

8. F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus* (Münster, 1922), pp. 134-89.

as being in contradiction with each other and with the original author, and as having led many into error. It will be noticed that this conclusion of Kugler is in harmony with our views, independently arrived at, concerning the difficulties of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen. It was the view of Kugler that the original author used the nonaccession-year system, assigning to each king not only the year of his death but also that of his accession, but that a recensionist later introduced difficulties by reckoning the years of the kings according to the accession-year system used in Assyria and Babylon.

The next important contribution to this subject was made by V. Coucke, professor at the Grand Séminaire de Bruges, which appeared in 1925 in the *Revue Bénédictine* and in 1928 in a supplement to the *Dictionnaire de la Bible*.⁹ Some of the striking similarities between the positions taken by Professor Coucke and those taken in this volume have already been mentioned. Professor Coucke followed a Tishri-to-Tishri reckoning for the kings of Judah and a Nisan-to-Nisan reckoning for the rulers of Israel. He believed that before the schism the Hebrews used the accession-year system of reckoning, and that Judah, true to the mission of David, continued to use this system, while Jeroboam, who had just come from Egypt, introduced non-accession-year reckoning in Israel. At the time of Athaliah, an Israelite princess, nonaccession-year reckoning was, according to Coucke, introduced into Judah, while in Israel a shift was made to accession-year reckoning at the time of Menahem, back again to nonaccession-year reckoning at the time of Pekah, and then back once more to nonaccession-year reckoning under Hoshea. Such frequent shifts are, of course, open to doubt, and neither do they succeed in solving the chronological problem of the kings. In a number of instances Coucke offers alternative suggestions as to the possible solution of some particular phase of the problem. The value of Professor Coucke's contribution to the subject of Hebrew chronology has up to the present not been fully appreciated.

In 1927 the excellent study of Julius Lewy¹⁰ was published. Lewy has shown how synchronisms in Assyria and Babylon reach back to the twelfth century before the Christian era, and that the likelihood is that the Hebrew synchronisms also reach back to an early period and are to be regarded as important historical contributions, rather than late, inaccurate and worthless calculations. In the Babylonian

9. V. Coucke, "Chronologie biblique," *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ed. F. Vigou-roux (*Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot), Vol. I (1928).

10. J. Lewy, *Die Chronologie der Könige von Israel und Juda* (Giessen, 1927).

Chronicle synchronisms were given not only between the kings of Babylon and nearby Assyria, but also with the kings of Elam. Lewy made an important contribution in pointing out the fact that the synchronisms between the kings of Israel and Judah may be regarded as primary and fundamental in Hebrew history, and of the greatest value in establishing the correct pattern of reigns of the Hebrew kings.

In 1929 a very comprehensive study on the chronology of the Hebrew kings was published by Joachim Begrich.¹¹ Begrich gives an excellent presentation of the chronological systems employed in the countries of the ancient East. In Israel and Judah he believes that the early kings reckoned according to a fall calendar, and that later a spring reckoning was used. Begrich regards the arguments of Rühl as strongly in favor of the nonaccession-year system in both Israel and Judah in the period from Rehoboam and Jeroboam I to Ahaziah and Joram, but in the later period of Hebrew history he believes that the accession-year system was used. By correlations with a number of dates in Assyrian history, various events in Hebrew history are chronologically fixed. The year 853 is accepted for the Battle of Qarqar and 732 for the deposal of Pekah and the accession of Hoshea. The claims of Sargon are regarded as evidence for the fall of Samaria in 721. Begrich would change three figures for the kings in the period between 853 and 721; giving to Joram of Israel a reign of seven years instead of twelve, to Pekah a reign of two years instead of twenty, and placing the beginning of the siege of Samaria in the ninth instead of the seventh year of Hoshea. One of the outstanding features of Begrich's work was his endeavor to fit the transmitted data into a number of complex hypothetical systems of chronology.

In 1931 Sigmund Mowinckel published a short but well-reasoned study on the chronology of the kings.¹² Mowinckel holds with Kugler, Lewy, and Begrich that the synchronisms are of great value in Hebrew chronology. In recent years a number of chronologists had placed great emphasis upon the question of coregencies, and with these Mowinckel found himself in full agreement, regarding these coregencies as of the greatest importance in the matter of solving the chronological problems of the Hebrew kings. He follows an autumn to autumn year, and uses the nonaccession-year system for the old period and accession-year reckoning for the late period. A number of dates are taken over from Assyria to supply dates for the Hebrew

11. *Op. cit.*

12. Sigmund Mowinckel, "Die Chronologie der israelitischen und jüdischen Könige," *Acta orientalia*, IX (1931), 161-277.

kings, including 853 for Qarqar and 701 for Hezekiah's fourteenth year. Mowinckel's study was one of outstanding value.

For a number of years W. F. Albright, who has made so many notable contributions to almost every field of Old Testament study and who is held in such just respect for his high scholarship and penetrating insight, has been keenly interested in the subject of Hebrew chronology, and from time to time has presented his views in regard to the dates of the kings. His latest discussion of this subject appeared in 1945.¹³ Albright emphasizes the fact that most of his dates are merely tentative, since he does not believe that a sufficiently large number of contemporary checks is at present available to allow of more positive conclusions. But he does give an outline of what he considers to be some of the main features of Hebrew chronology together with a brief review of a number of recent studies of Old Testament chronology, including that of the writer which first appeared in 1944.¹⁴ It is always difficult to differ from one whom we hold in such high esteem and for whose opinions we have such high regard, and particularly is this the case concerning one who has expressed himself in such definite terms of approbation as has Albright regarding certain phases of the work of the writer. But the quest for truth may not be deterred by feelings of friendship and personal regard, however sincere. Truth is absolute; and the quest to which we both are dedicated demands only the triumph of truth.

The main difference between Professor Albright and the writer is Albright's view that many of the numbers that have come down to us regarding the kings, both as to synchronisms and lengths of reign, are no longer correct, since "it is incredible that all these numbers can have been handed down through so many editors and copyists without often becoming corrupt."¹⁵ A tabulation of the lengths of reign according to Albright as compared with the numbers of the Hebrew kings in the Massoretic text appears on the following page. Only in those cases in which the figure of Albright is different from that of the Hebrew has the Massoretic number been given. It will thus be seen that for fourteen kings of Israel and Judah, Albright uses a different number for the length of reign from that employed in

13. W. F. Albright, "The Chronology of the Divided Monarchy of Israel," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 100 (December, 1945), pp. 16 ff.

14. Edwin R. Thiele, "The Chronology of the Kings of Judah and Israel," *JNES*, III (1944), 137-86.

15. Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

the Massoretic text. Such adjustments in the lengths of reign will, of course, call for many adjustments in the synchronisms as well. But are these adjustments necessary? Is the chronological problem of the Hebrew kings to be solved only by the assumption of the existence of these numerous errors in the recorded data? That errors must be present to so large a degree is, after all, only an a priori assumption. Unless the chronologist employs the correct chronological system in dealing with these numbers, the discrepancies may be imaginary

JUDAH			ISRAEL		
	Albright	Hebrew		Albright	Hebrew
Rehoboam	8	17	Jeroboam I	22	
Abijam	3		Nadab	2	
Asa	41		Baasha	24	
Jehoshaphat	25		Elah	2	
Jehoram	8		Zimri	7 days	
Ahaziah	1		Omri	8	12
Athaliah	6	7	Ahab	20	22
Joash	38	40	Ahaziah	2	
Amaziah	18	29	Joram	8	12
Azariah	42	52	Jehu	28	
Jotham (regent)	8	(?)	Jehoahaz	15	17
Jotham (king)	8	16	Jehoash	16	
Ahaz	21 ±	16	Jeroboam II	41	
Hezekiah	29		Zachariah	6 months	
Manasseh	45	55	Shallum	1 month	
Amon	2		Menahem	8 +	10
Josiah	31		Pekahiah	2	
Jehoahaz	3 months		Pekah	6	20
Jehoiakim	11		Hoshea	9	
Jehoiachin	3 months				
Zedekiah	11				

rather than real, and the errors may be our own rather than those of ancient Hebrew scribes. On pages 21-22 of this volume we presented the data concerning the first eight kings of the divided monarchies, and we showed how for that period the figures for Israel were increasing one year in length for every reign as compared with the figures of Judah for the corresponding period—positive evidence, as we have seen, of the use of the nonaccession-year system in Israel as against the accession-year system in Judah. If for this time the reigns of the kings of Israel were originally reckoned according to the non-accession-year system and those of Judah according to the accession-year method, any arrangement of those reigns will, unless it follows the original systems of reckoning, necessarily contain discrepancies. For that period, however, Albright regards the general use of the

nonaccession-year system in both Judah and Israel as "certainly correct."¹⁶ It is not until we notice that the Hebrew data for that period constitute a pattern in which the synchronisms and lengths of reign for both Judah and Israel are inseparably woven together according to the above-mentioned systems and then proceed upon such a basis that we will be enabled to correctly reconstruct the chronology of the kings.

Albright's date for the schism is 922 as against our date of 931. This difference of nine years is exactly equal to his reduction of the reign of Rehoboam from seventeen to eight years. Albright secures his basis for this adjustment in the years of Rehoboam's reign in the synchronism of II Chron. 16:1, placing Baasha's building of Ramah in the thirty-sixth year of Asa. Working on the basis of nonaccession-year reckoning for both Judah and Israel, Albright points out that Baasha died in the forty-sixth year of a Rehoboam era (twenty-one years for Jeroboam, one year for Nadab, and twenty-four years for Baasha). In this point, that Baasha's death took place in the forty-sixth year of a Rehoboam era, Albright is exactly right. But going on from there, he holds that on the basis of II Chron. 36:1, the thirty-sixth year of Asa would also be the forty-sixth year of a Rehoboam era. But even if this synchronism of II Chron. 16:1 should be correct, what is the evidence that Baasha's building of Ramah took place in his own twenty-fourth year, the last year of his life? In II Chron. 15:8, 9 a situation is pictured which might well be regarded by Baasha as a threat to Israel's sovereignty—the seizing of cities by Asa from Mount Ephraim and the gathering to Jerusalem of numerous strangers from Ephraim and Manasseh. This crisis took place in the fifteenth year of Asa (II Chron. 15:10), which would be the thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year of a Rehoboam-Jeroboam era. Baasha's building of Ramah, "to the intent that he might let none go out or come in to Asa king of Judah" (II Chron. 16:1), sounds very much like an immediate retaliatory measure taken by Baasha to meet this crisis of Asa's fifteenth year. Would Baasha have waited twenty-one years, till the thirty-sixth year of Asa, before doing anything to meet this threat of Judah? If Baasha came to the throne in the third year of Asa and if he ruled only twenty-four years (II Kings 15:28, 33), then his death had already taken place in Asa's twenty-fifth year, accession-year reckoning, as previously noticed. This thirty-sixth year of Asa of II Chron. 16:1 sounds very much like the thirty-sixth year of a Rehoboam-Jeroboam era, and as such would fit in perfectly with the events of

16. *Ibid.*, p. 20, n. 14.

II Chron. 15:8-10. This would be the thirteenth or fourteenth year of Baasha, rather than his last year as assumed by Albright.

Even if the synchronism of II Chron. 16:1 were correct, it still would provide no support for the assumption that Baasha's building of Ramah took place in the last year of his reign. But proceeding on this assumption that the twenty-fourth year of Baasha synchronizes with the thirty-sixth year of Asa, and that the thirty-sixth year of Asa must therefore synchronize with the forty-sixth year of a Rehoboam era, Albright reduces the length of Rehoboam's reign from seventeen years to eight. With eight years for Rehoboam, two years for Abijam (three official years), and the thirty-sixth year of Asa, Albright secures his total of forty-six years for Judah as synchronizing with forty-six years for Israel, in Baasha's twenty-fourth and last year.

But in going to such an extreme length in behalf of a literal acceptance of this synchronism of II Chron. 16:1, let us notice what else is involved as regards the data concerning the kings. If it is true that Rehoboam ruled only eight years then, (1) the statement of I Kings 14:21 is wrong giving the length of his reign as seventeen years, and (2) the statement of II Chron. 12:13 to the same effect is likewise untrue, and (3) the synchronism of I Kings 15:1 of Abijam's accession in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam should rather be Jeroboam's ninth year, and (4) the same would be true with the synchronism of II Chron. 13:1, and (5) the synchronism of I Kings 15:9 of Asa's accession in the twentieth year of Jeroboam would need to be changed to Jeroboam's eleventh year, and (6) the synchronism of I Kings 15:25 that Nadab came to the throne in the second year of Asa would need to be adjusted to the thirteenth of Asa, and (7) the synchronism of I Kings 15:28 that Baasha came to the throne in the third year of Asa should be changed to Asa's fourteenth year. So closely interwoven are the data concerning the accessions and lengths of reign of the Hebrew kings that an adjustment of a figure in one place will involve adjustments of figures in many places, as we have just noticed.

It will be observed that Albright's acceptance of the single statement of II Chron. 16:1—on the *a priori* assumption that the Chronicler must be regarded as the preserver of certain reliable facts not preserved in Kings and that "we have no right to disregard the datings by regnal years of the kings of Judah which we find there, especially when they are as consistent and reasonable as, e.g., in the case of Asa"¹⁷—involves him in a denial of seven other Biblical statements.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19.

And this result is not all an opposition of Kings to Chronicles, for in order to accept the validity of II Chron. 16:1 Albright rejects the validity of II Chron. 12:13 and 13:1. In order to accept a single statement in Chronicles he rejects two others in Chronicles in addition to five in Kings. Can it be that in order to have this one reference in Chronicles correct, two other references in Chronicles as well as five in Kings must be wrong?

Even though Albright's statement that "Chronicles contains a considerable amount of original material dealing with the history of Judah which is not found in Kings" be correct, and even though it be true that "the historical value of this original material is being established by archaeological discoveries,"¹⁸ is it not quite a long jump of logic from such slight objective facts to such a blanket accrediting of the Chronicler that the single synchronism of II Chron. 16:1 must be accepted against the combined evidence of seven other Biblical references? If the argument is that Chronicles is more sound than Kings, then why should II Chron. 16:1 be more sound than II Chron. 12:13 or 13:1? And if Chronicles is so sound that "we have no right to disregard the datings by regnal years of the kings of Judah which we find there,"¹⁹ then what right have we to disregard the regnal years of a king of Judah found in Chronicles (II Chron. 12:13), or the dating by regnal years of a king of Israel found there (II Chron. 13:1), especially when these statements of Chronicles are attested to by Kings (I Kings 14:21; 15:1)? If some conclusive reason had been given for the greater soundness of II Chron. 16:1 as over against 12:13 and 13:1, the selection of this particular synchronism might have been justified. But when an examination of the evidence shows the reverse to be true, what justification can be found for the tearing to shreds of this section of the chronological fabric of the Hebrew kingdoms as is called for by the adjustments proposed by Albright?

In Albright's chronological scheme there are thirteen other adjustments in the figures for the lengths of reign. This would involve the assumption of errors in the following references regarding lengths of reign: I Kings 16:23; 16:29; II Kings 3:1; 11:4; 12:1; 13:1; 14:2; 15:2, 17, 27; 16:2; 21:1; II Chron. 23:1; 24:1; 25:1; 26:3; 28:1; 33:1; and possibly also in II Kings 15:33 and II Chron. 27:1, 8. It will be noticed that at least six of these references are from Chronicles in addition to twelve from Kings. The only reason why there are more items from Kings than from Chronicles is that Chronicles presents only the data of the kings of Judah, not of Israel—no length of the

18. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

19. *Ibid.*

reign of a king of Israel being recorded there. But having here six references in Chronicles that would be incorrect if Albright's dates are sound, again the question is pertinent, if on the basis that the Chronicler is so very reliable in his data that II Chron. 16:1 must be accepted in the face of the sevenfold Biblical evidence that it is erroneous, then just why should these six references in Chronicles involving data regarding the lengths of reign be regarded as incorrect?

In regard to the synchronisms it is the view of Albright that, "we must take the synchronisms in which the accessions of kings of Israel are given in terms of the regnal years of kings of Judah seriously except when other data compel us to regard them as secondary,"²⁰ but when his dates are checked against the synchronisms it is found that very few will stand. If Albright's dates for the kings are correct then the synchronisms in the following references are in error: I Kings 15:1, 9, 25; 16:8, 10, 15, 23, 29; 22:41, 51; II Kings 1:17; 3:1; 8:16, 25; 9:29; 12:1; 15:1, 23, 27, 30, 32; 16:1; 17:1; 18:1, 9, 10; II Chron. 13:1, and the statement in II Kings 14:17 and II Chron. 25:25 that Amaziah lived fifteen years after the death of Jehoash in Israel would also be incorrect. The adjustments that would need to be made in these synchronisms to harmonize with Albright's dates are from two to twenty-four years in each instance. It will be noticed that all these synchronisms except that of II Chron. 13:1 are found in Kings. Why? Does this mean that the synchronisms of Chronicles are more reliable than those of Kings? Not at all. The reason again is that Chronicles deals only with the data of the kings of Judah, not of Israel, and with the single exception of II Chron. 13:1 no synchronisms of accessions of kings of Judah in terms of kings of Israel, or vice versa, are found in Chronicles. Thus the only synchronism of a king's accession recorded in Chronicles would, if Albright's dates are correct, be wrong. If the above references are checked against the complete list of some thirty-four references involving synchronisms, it will be found that all but seven or eight are included. It will therefore be clear that the dates given by Albright destroy almost totally the whole system of synchronisms, both Israelite in terms of Judah, and the reverse. The only data that "compel us to regard them as secondary" are the implications of our own erroneous assumptions in regard to the basic methods of chronological procedure followed by the Hebrew scribes.

When Albright declares concerning Chronicles that "we have no right to disregard the datings by regnal years of the kings of Judah

20. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

which we find there, especially when they are as consistent and reasonable as, e.g., in the case of Asa," should not this also hold true concerning any other data regarding the kings of either Israel or Judah, in either Chronicles or Kings? And have we not in the pages of this volume given ample evidence that the data of the kings, both as to synchronisms and lengths of reign, in Kings as well as Chronicles, are "consistent and reasonable"? And if that be the case, then what are the grounds upon which they ought to be rejected, other than our own a priori assumptions? If these data harmonize with each other, as we have shown that they do in the pattern here set forth, and if this pattern is in harmony with the years of Near Eastern history, as we have shown that it is, what more could be required to prove them sound?

In spite of Albright's argument concerning the tendency of ancient numbers to become corrupt he declares that "Once the numbers were included in the text of the great work of the Deuteronomist, they were transmitted by copyists with astonishing accuracy, as proved by confrontation of the versions."²¹ Albright is entirely right when he calls attention to the "astonishing accuracy" with which these numbers have been transmitted in the later period as being proved by the numbers as they have come down in the various versions. But if these numbers have come through with such astonishing accuracy in the period following the Deuteronomist, what is there to preclude a similar accuracy in the period preceding? If there was accuracy in the transmission of these numbers in the many centuries after the Hebrew kingdoms had come to their end, what was there to prevent accuracy of transmission during the few centuries while the monarchies flourished? If accuracy can be proved for the time of the versions, what is there to disprove accuracy in the time preceding the versions?

The vital question involved in this discussion is one of basic methodology as regards our dealings with the Hebrew text. When the proposal is made to proceed in this matter of the chronology of the Kings in accord with the a priori assumption of basic error in much of the transmitted data, is not this precisely the sort of text criticism that has worked so much of havoc in Old Testament study in a former generation? And is not such a procedure methodologically unsound? Should not the text be accepted as right until it is shown to be wrong? And is not the onus of proving it wrong on the one who claims its corruption? Certainly the only sound method is a careful examination of the text itself in a fair effort to understand its mean-

21. *Ibid.*, p. 19, n. 12.

ing, and not to pronounce corruption before corruption has been proved. In this matter of the numbers of the kings, has not the basic soundness of the transmitted data been effectually demonstrated in the present study, and does this not constitute a final refutation of the text-critical assumption that formerly prevailed in the field of Old Testament criticism but which may now be relegated to a bygone age?

Speaking of the work of the writer, Albright declares that the effort was made to solve the chronological difficulties by having recourse to "a complicated series of variations in calendar (with the regnal year beginning in Nisan in Israel and in Tishri in Judah) and in mode of computing regnal years,"²² a method which he regards as "very complex."²³ Just what is it that constitutes such a "complicated series of variations in calendar" employed in our chronological scheme? The beginning of the regnal year with Nisan in Israel and with Tishri in Judah—that and nothing more. The Biblical evidence for a Tishri-to-Tishri year in Judah has been given for the reigns of Solomon and Josiah, and the evidence for a Nisan-to-Nisan year for Israel is found in the perfect harmony of the data for the kings when such a year is used. Albright suggests a Tishri beginning of the civil year throughout the period in both lands.²⁴ Surely no one would wish to suggest that a system which will work should be discarded for a system which will not work simply that we might thereby have evidence of the unsoundness of the data involved. In our chronological scheme there was no variation in the calendar either in Judah or Israel from beginning to end. Certainly the simple beginning of the year with Nisan in Israel and with Tishri in Judah is something vastly different from a "complicated series of variations in calendar."

And what is our "very complex" system of computing the regnal years? A single shift in Israel from nonaccession- to accession-year reckoning, and in Judah a shift from accession- to nonaccession-year reckoning in harmony with Israel at a period when Judah came under the influence of the northern house, and then a return to the original accession-year system. What is there so "very complex" about such adjustments as these? They are utterly simple and, under the circumstances, completely natural—exactly the shifts that were to be expected at the times when they were made.

Let it be remembered that the above-mentioned methods of chronological procedure are based strictly on a careful use of Biblical evidence which Albright overlooks, and that the result in the one case is a chronological pattern for the kings which is in harmony with the

22. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 22, n. 29.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 20, n. 13.

recorded data and in accord with the years of Near Eastern history, while in the other case the result of the failure to take account of the bulk of Biblical evidence results in a playing fast and loose with the Biblical data concerning both synchronisms and lengths of reign, in Chronicles as well as Kings, for Israel as well as Judah, and the setting forth of a series of dates at least twenty-seven of which are frankly regarded as merely tentative, and all the rest of which except one are admittedly perhaps a year or two in error, and the "only date" regarded as "absolutely certain," "the Fall of Samaria,"²⁵ (722/1), is wrong by exactly one year. Certainly the method employed to secure these uncertain results by rejecting so largely the Biblical data, can hardly be regarded as sound methodology in dealing with the chronological problem of Israel and Judah, nor are the results achieved in any wise a solution of the problem of the kings.

It is the view of Albright that the Hebrew scribes employed an extremely simple method in dealing with the reigns of the kings. Both Israel and Judah began their regnal years at the same time, probably Tishri, and both used the nonaccession-year system except Judah after the time of Hezekiah, when the accession-year system was introduced. But these are certainly not the methods revealed in the Old Testament data. Endeavoring to proceed upon the basis of an extremely simple method of chronological reckoning, Albright is faced with an exceedingly complex series of adjustments in the data for the kings. The issue to be faced is not one of whether a system is simple or complex, but is it right or wrong? If the seemingly contradictory data reveal certain methods of chronological procedure not expected by us and possibly regarded as complex, and if the employment of these methods results in a pattern of reigns for the kings consistent with itself and in harmony with the best evidence of Near Eastern history, do we not therein possess evidence both of the nature of the chronological methods employed by the ancient Hebrew scribes and of the reliability of the data that have been passed on to us?

The dates of the Hebrew kings according to the chronological systems herein discussed are listed on pages 254 and 255.

As the dates of the systems here set forth are examined, it will be noticed that they fall into two distinct patterns, one a long chronology such as that of Ussher and Anstey, and the other a short chronology in which the dates for the disruption are about fifty years lower. While Ussher and Anstey made an endeavor to produce a chronological pattern which was in harmony with the Biblical data, they failed

25. *Ibid.*, p. 17.

utterly to understand the underlying principles of Biblical chronology. In the case of Ussher the historical facts of Near Eastern history were not available, and in the case of Anstey those facts were not appreciated. In the second group of chronological systems the main emphasis was usually placed not on the chronological data of the Massoretic text but upon the facts of Near Eastern history. In order to be historically accurate it was the general opinion that the years of the kings would need to follow a pattern frequently quite out of line with the requirements of the Biblical data.

Since only a limited number of dates were available that could be accurately checked with Near Eastern history, it was necessary to depend to quite a large extent upon the Biblical data for the intervening dates regarding the Hebrew kings—defective though the data were regarded to be. The result was a series of dates for the kings that to a large extent were regarded as merely approximate rather than absolute.

In the setting up of these dates there is often manifest a strangely contradictory admixture between confidence and doubt in the Biblical data. If a system of chronology was to be produced, these data had to be used; yet if they were used, the results could not be regarded as possessing any great degree of accuracy, and yet the accuracy of these results was to be tested by data that were admittedly inaccurate. Such is clearly the spirit behind the production of Albright's recent figures for the Hebrew kings. Speaking of the century between 842 and 742 B.C. he mentions a seeming excess of years which "can be eliminated entirely by disregarding the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah and basing our revised estimates of their reigns solely on the synchronisms with Israel (which throughout contradict the regnal totals of the kings of Judah). After one slight correction in the contemporary Israelite list has been made with the aid of the synchronisms, the total of the Israelite reigns is exactly right for the interval in question. . . . In this period, however, most of the synchronisms were calculated by some later editor, so they cannot be used as primary material, though they do enable us to correct the regnal totals for the rulers of the Omride Dynasty."²⁶

Albright is right when he calls attention to the fact that in the century above referred to there seems to be a considerable excess of years for the reigns of the kings of Judah according to the Massoretic data, and that the data concerning the synchronisms clearly reveal this fact and may be used to indicate just what the figures should be

26. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

THE DATES OF THE HEBREW KINGS ACCORDING TO MODERN CHRONOLOGISTS

	JUDAH										
	Ussher 1650	Anstey 1913	Kamphausen 1883	Rühl 1894	Kugler 1922	Coucke 1925	Lewy 1927	Begrich 1929	Mowinckel 1931	Albright 1945	Thiele 1944
Rehoboam	975-958	982-965	937-921	931-916	929-913	931-915	921-905	926-910	930-914	922-915	931-913
Abijam	958-955	965-963	920-918	915-914	912-910	914-912	905-903	910-908	914-912	915-913	913-911
Asa	955-914	963-922	917-877	913-874	910-870	911-871	903-863	908-872	912-872	913-873	911-870
Jehoshaphat	914-892	922-897	876-852	873-850	872-849	870-848	865-841	872-852	872-851	873-849	873-848
Jehoram	897-885	905-893	851-844	849-843	849-842	854-847	848-841	852-845	851-844	849-842	853-841
Ahaziah	885-884	894-893	843	842	842	846	841	845-844	844-843	842	841
Athaliah	884-878	893-886	842-837	841-836	842-836	846-841	841-835	845-839	843-837	842-837	841-835
Joash	878-839	886-847	836-797	835-797	836-797	841-802	835-798	839-800	843-804	837-800	835-796
Amaziah	839-810	846-818	796-778	796-784	797-789	803-775	798-770	800-785	804-776	800-783	796-767
Interregnum		817-807									
Azariah	825-758	806-755	777-736	783-734	789-738	775-736	785-734	785-747	776-735	783-742	791-740
Jotham	758-742	754-739	750-735	733-730	751-736	735-732	758-742	758-743	749-734	750-735	750-732
Ahaz	742-727	739-723	734-715	729-715	736-721	731-728	742-726	742-725	734-715	735-715	735-715
Hezekiah	727-698	725-696	714-686	714-692	721-693	727-699	728-697	725-697	715-697	715-687	715-686
Manasseh	698-643	696-641	685-641	691-638	693-639	698-644	697-642	696-642	697-643	687-642	696-642
Amon	643-641	641-639	640-639	637	639-638	643-642	642-640	641-640	642-641	642-640	642-640
Josiah	641-610	639-608	638-608	636-607	638-608	641-611	640-609	639-609	640-610	640-609	640-608
Jehoahaz	610	608	608	607	608	610	609	609	609	609	608
Jehoiakim	610-599	608-597	607-597	606-597	608-598	609-599	609-598	608-598	609-598	609-598	608-597
Jehoiachin	599	597	597	597	598	599-598	598-597	598	598	598	597
Zedekiah	599-588	597-586	596-586	596-587	597-587	598-588	597-586	597-587	598-587	598-587	597-586

THE DATES OF THE HEBREW KINGS ACCORDING TO MODERN CHRONOLOGISTS

	ISRAEL										
	Ussher 1650	Anstey 1913	Kamphausen 1883	Rühl 1894	Kugler 1922	Coucke 1925	Lewy 1927	Begrich 1929	Mowinckel 1931	Albright 1945	Thiele 1944
Jeroboam I.....	975-954	982-961	937-916	931-911	929-909	931-910	922-902	926-907	931-911	922-901	931-910
Nadab	954-953	961-960	915-914	910	909-908	910-909	902-901	907-906	911-910	901-900	910-909
Baasha	953-930	960-937	914-891	909-887	908-885	909-886	901-878	906-883	910-887	900-877	909-886
Elah	930-929	937-936	891-890	886	885-884	886-885	878-877	883-882	887-886	877-876	886-885
Zimri	929	936	890	885	884	885	877	882	886	876	885
Tibni		936-932			884-881		877-873	882-878	886-882		885-880
Omri	929-918	936-925	890-879	885-875	884-873	885-874	873-866	878-871	886-875	876-869	885-874
Ahab	918-897	925-904	878-857	874-854	873-854	874-853	866-847	871-852	875-852	869-850	874-853
Ahaziah	897-896	905-904	856-855	853	854-853	853-852	847-846	852-851	852-851	850-849	853-852
Joram	896-884	904-893	854-843	852-842	853-842	852-846	846-841	851-845	851-843	849-842	852-841
Jehu	884-856	893-865	842-815	841-815	842-815	846-819	841-815	845-818	843-821	842-815	841-814
Jehoahaz	856-841	864-848	814-798	814-799	814-798	820-805	815-799	818-802	821-805	815-801	814-798
Jehoash	841-825	850-832	797-782	798-784	798-783	804-789	799-784	802-787	805-790	801-786	798-782
Jeroboam II	825-784	832-792	781-741	783-758	783-743	789-749	784-748	787-747	790-749	786-746	793-753
Interregnum	784-773	792-770									
Zachariah	773	769	741	757	743	749	748-747	747-746	749	746-745	753-752
Shallum	773	768	741	757	743	749-748	747	747-746	749	745	752
Menahem	772-761	768-758	740-738	757-749	742-737	747-738	747-736	746-737	749-737	745-738	752-742
Pekahiah	761-759	757-756	737-736	748	737-736	737-736	736-734	736-734	737-736	738-737	742-740
Pekah	759-740	755-736	736-730	747-729	736-732	736-731	734	734-732	736-733	737-732	740-732
Interregnum	739-731	735-728									
Hoshea	730-721	727-719	730-722	728-721	732-724	730-722	733-724	732-724	733-722	732-724	732-723

as regards elapsed time. But he might have gone further and shown how this is true not only here but in other places as well, and not only in Judah but also in Israel. What should be done with these extra years, here and elsewhere? Should we reject them, as Albright does, and cut down the lengths of reign of the individual kings? If that is done the whole structure not only of synchronisms but also of lengths of reign falls to pieces. A change in the figure for a single length of reign may involve, as we have seen, many additional changes in figures all the way down the line, and the same is true with the synchronisms. These two sets of data fit so tightly together that no adjustment can be made in any single item without vitally affecting the whole composite structure of Hebrew chronology. We have in these synchronisms and lengths of reign the warp and woof of the Hebrew chronological fabric. These two sets of data when fitted together form a marvelously harmonious pattern of reigns which may not be tampered with in either instance without destroying the whole basic design of the reigns of the Hebrew kings.

Let us notice just one example to illustrate the very close relationship existing between the data as to synchronisms and lengths of reign. Albright gives to Ahab a reign of twenty years as against the Massoretic figure of twenty-two, and he bases this adjustment on the "unmistakable evidence of the synchronisms."²⁷ The synchronism for Ahab's accession is the thirty-eighth year of Asa (I Kings 16:29), and the synchronism for the accession of Ahaziah, the successor of Ahab, is the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat (I Kings 22:51). Since Asa reigned forty-one years (I Kings 15:10), this would give Ahab three years of reign during the lifetime of Asa and seventeen years during the reign of Jehoshaphat, or twenty years in all. It is thus that Albright's figure of twenty years for Ahab is secured. But it will be seen that this figure is secured not from the synchronisms alone but from a combination of the data for the synchronisms and the lengths of reign—the synchronisms of I Kings 16:29 and 22:51, and the length of reign of I Kings 15:10. But let us notice how closely the "unmistakable evidence of the synchronisms" appealed to in this case as the basis for changing the figure for the length of Ahab's reign from twenty-two years to twenty has been adhered to. Albright's dates for Asa are 913–873. If Ahab came to the throne in the thirty-eighth year of Asa, then 876 would be the year of his accession. But Albright places the beginning of Ahab's reign in 869. His figures for Jehoshaphat are 873–849. Thus according to the numbers of Albright,

27. *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 16.

Ahab began his reign in the fifth year of Jehoshaphat, not the thirty-eighth year of Asa. The date given for the termination of Ahab's reign and the beginning of that of Ahaziah is 850. That year according to Albright's dates is the twenty-fourth year of Jehoshaphat, and so according to his data the year of Ahab's death and of Ahaziah's accession would be the twenty-fourth rather than the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat. It is a bit difficult to see how these synchronisms could provide such positive information as to the length of Ahab's reign for a chronological scheme the dates of which are some seven or eight years out of line with the synchronisms cited as constituting such "unmistakable evidence." If those synchronisms are so very exact as to enable an adjustment to be made from the Massoretic figure of twenty-two years to twenty for the length of Ahab's reign, then why are they some seven years out of line as regards the time when Ahab began and terminated his reign? If these synchronisms are of sufficient value to provide such specific information as to the length of Ahab's reign, then why are they so utterly useless in the information they give as to the years when Ahab began and ended his reign? The vital point in regard to these synchronisms and lengths of reign is that they both constitute basic and indispensable elements of a single chronological pattern. These two sets of data must stand or fall together. The one cannot be rejected without also rejecting the other.

When Albright checked the totals for the reigns of the kings from one fixed point to another and when he discovered there a seeming excess of years in the data regarding the lengths of reign, he failed to take into consideration the possibility that the excess of years which he interpreted as error might merely have constituted proof of coregencies. When once the evidence is accepted in this light, the seeming discrepancies between the synchronisms and lengths of reign no longer appear. The data on the lengths of reign provide evidence that coregencies existed from time to time, both in Judah and Israel. The synchronisms frequently provide the evidence as to exactly when these coregencies began. Without the synchronisms we would be almost completely without information in this regard. Comparisons with the dates of contemporary history might indicate from time to time that an excess of years in the data of the totals of reigns was unmistakably involved, and the first and most natural impulse would be to reject these as error. But the evidence of the synchronisms provides unmistakable proof as to the exact time when these overlapping reigns took place. To reject the coregencies is to reject the figures for both the synchronisms and the lengths of reign.

Without these overlappings of reigns between father and son no sound chronological scheme is possible for the Hebrew kings. Whoever would accept either the data as to the synchronisms or the lengths of reign as sound must accept also the existence of the coregencies. The combined evidence of the dates of contemporary history and the figures of the Massoretic text proves conclusively that at various times in Hebrew history son was associated with father in the rulership of the land.

Concerning the work of the writer in this regard Albright declares that the effort was made to solve "the difficulties by assuming an elaborate series of coregencies."²⁸ The question is whether we invented these coregencies or whether we merely accepted the evidence concerning their existence. In Israel there was only one coregency, that of Jeroboam II, while in Judah there were six, those of Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Azariah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Manasseh. In addition there was the overlapping reign of Omri with his rival Tibni mentioned in I Kings 16:21, and the reign of Pekah which was thrown back twelve years to parallel the years of the house of Menahem. Albright makes the statement that, "It is not surprising that the regnal years of the kings of Israel are rather more accurate than [than] those of the kings of Judah, since there were presumably many more available variants of the latter than of the former."²⁹ But is not this a mere assumption? May it not be due to Albright's failure to recognize the existence of the more numerous coregencies in Judah that the regnal years for that nation appear to him as less accurate than the regnal years for Israel?

Let us examine these coregencies a bit more in detail. In the ninety years between the disruption of the monarchy in 931 and the reign of Athaliah in 841 there were two coregencies in Judah, one of four years between Jehoshaphat and Asa, and one of six years between Jehoram and Jehoshaphat. The evidence for Jehoshaphat's coregency with Asa is found in the figure for the length of his reign. The probable cause for this coregency has been previously given—the fact that Asa in the thirty-ninth year of his reign "was diseased in his feet, until his disease was exceeding great" (II Chron. 16:12). The evidence for the coregency of Jehoram with Jehoshaphat is found primarily in the synchronisms. The seemingly contradictory data that Joram in Israel came to the throne in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17) and that Jehoram of Judah came to the throne in the fifth

28. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

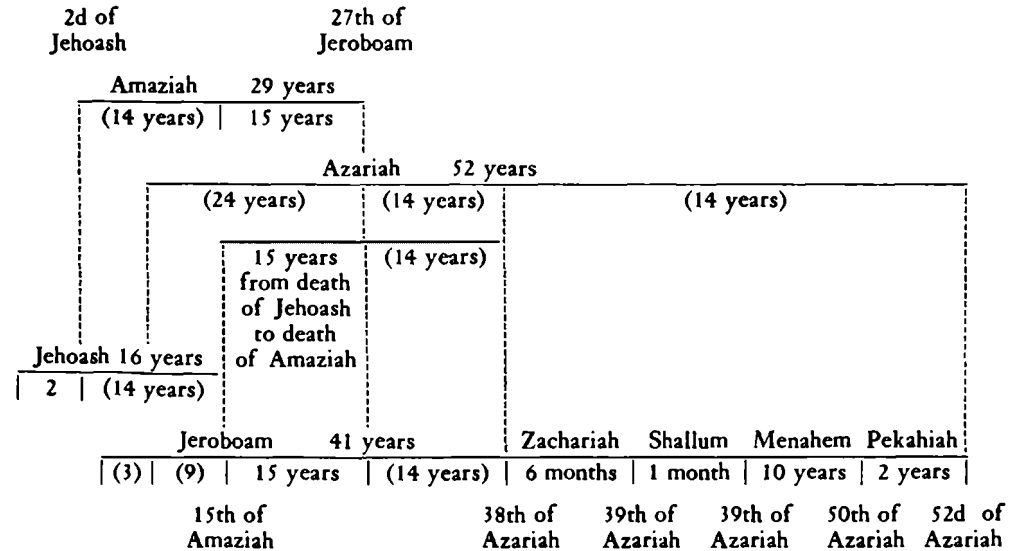
29. *Ibid.*, p. 19, n. 12.

year of Joram of Israel (II Kings 8:16) are found to be perfectly harmonious when the coregency of Jehoram with Jehoshaphat is recognized. The two synchronisms given for Joram's accession in Israel, in the second year of Jehoram of Judah (II Kings 1:17), and in the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat (II Kings 3:1), simply show that the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat was the second year of Jehoram's coregency.

Our next coregency was that of twenty-four years between Azariah and his father Amaziah. A number of items point to this coregency, including evidence from both the lengths of reign and the synchronisms. Azariah is said to have come to the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II (II Kings 15:1). Since Jeroboam had a reign of forty-one years (II Kings 14:23), he should in that case have continued to reign for fourteen years after Azariah's accession, and we would look for Zachariah, son and successor of Jeroboam, to begin his reign in the fourteenth year of Azariah. But the record states that Zachariah began his reign in the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:8), which is twenty-four years after Azariah's fourteenth year. If the synchronism of II Kings 15:8 is correct, and if the year when Zachariah began his reign is indeed thirty-eight years after Azariah first began to reign, then the time when Azariah first came to the throne must be twenty-four years earlier than the synchronism of II Kings 15:1 would seem to call for; i.e., in the third rather than the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam.

If it was in the third year of Jeroboam that Azariah began his long reign of fifty-two years, ruling with Amaziah twenty-four years before beginning his sole reign in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam in harmony with the synchronism of II Kings 15:1, then the data for Israel, if reliable, should show a total of fifty-two years for this period. And since Pekahiah was slain by Pekah sometime in Azariah's fifty-second and final year (II Kings 15:25, 27), the interval from the third year of Jeroboam to Pekahiah's death should be some fifty-one or fifty-two years, depending upon just when in Azariah's final year the assassination of Pekahiah took place and how the synchronisms of Israel's Nisan years fit into the Tishri years of Judah. Let us examine the data. Pekahiah ruled two years (II Kings 15:23), his predecessor Menahem ruled ten years (II Kings 15:17), Shallum who preceded Menahem reigned one month (II Kings 15:13), and his predecessor Zachariah ruled six months (II Kings 15:8), or some thirteen years for these four kings. The synchronisms for these kings are as follows: Zachariah's accession, the thirty-eighth year of Azariah (II Kings

THE AZARIAH-JEROBOAM PERIOD AND ITS COREGENCIES



NOTE: This graph has been somewhat simplified in that it does not show Nisan-to-Nisan years for Israel or Tishri-to-Tishri years for Judah, but it does present the essential arrangement of reigns. The data given are according to the Massoretic text except those enclosed in parentheses which must necessarily follow from the Biblical data given. For an exact arrangement of all the details of these reigns the complete chart at p. 74 should be consulted.

15:8); Shallum, the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:13); Menahem, the thirty-ninth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:17); Pekahiah's accession, the fiftieth year of Azariah (II Kings 15:23), and his death in Azariah's fifty-second year (II Kings 15:25, 27). Thus from Zachariah's accession in Azariah's thirty-eighth year to Pekahiah's death in Azariah's fifty-second year is some fourteen years according to the synchronisms. Adding to these thirteen or fourteen years for these four kings the thirty-eight years that Jeroboam had ruled since Azariah's accession (II Kings 14:29; 15:8) gives some fifty-one or fifty-two years for Israel as covering the period from Azariah's accession to his fifty-second year. And inasmuch as Jeroboam ruled forty-one years (II Kings 14:23) and died in Azariah's thirty-eighth year (II Kings 14:29; 15:8), it must have been in Jeroboam's third year that Azariah first began to reign. Once it is understood that all the data both as to synchronisms and lengths of reign, for Israel as well as Judah, are inseparably bound together in a pattern requiring the beginning of Azariah's reign of fifty-two years in the third year of Jeroboam, the exceedingly difficult chronological problems concerning Azariah readily find their solution.

For the period from the accession of Athaliah in 841 to the death of Azariah in 740, Albright noticed an excess of twenty-four years for the total of the lengths of reign for the kings of Judah during this century, an excess which he suggests might be "eliminated entirely by disregarding the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah and basing our revised estimates of their reigns solely on the synchronisms with Israel (which throughout contradict the regnal totals of the kings of Judah)."³⁰ The surplus of twenty-four years for this period noticed by Albright is nothing more than the twenty-four year coregency of Azariah with Amaziah, the same twenty-four years just noticed in the synchronisms of II Kings 15:1 and 8 which require the throwing back of the beginning of Azariah's reign from the twenty-seventh to the third year of Jeroboam II. Our course in the treatment of this phase of the problem was not to attempt to evade the difficulty by having recourse to the invention of one of "an elaborate series of coregencies," but to make a careful analysis of all the evidence having to bear upon this phase of the problem, with the result that the existence of Azariah's coregency was recognized.

Perhaps, however, the strongest argument in favor of this coregency is not this seeming excess of twenty-four years for the reigns of the kings of Judah for this century as noticed by Albright, but the

30. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

fact that no less than five kings of Israel—Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah—have the beginnings of their reigns synchronized with the years of Azariah's reign as reckoned from the beginning of his coregency—all of which are perfectly correct when thus reckoned. Each of these synchronisms thus becomes an additional proof of the existence of this joint reign, pointing out the exact year when it began. Once this coregency is recognized, all difficulty concerning the seeming excess of years for this period disappears and it becomes unnecessary to disregard, as does Albright, the data for the lengths of reign of all the kings of Judah for this century.

But, "disregarding the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah" for this period, Albright reduces the years of Athaliah from seven to six, of Joash from forty to thirty-eight, of Amaziah from twenty-nine to eighteen, and of Azariah from fifty-two to forty-two. But when, by a rejection of the data of four Biblical references in Kings and four in Chronicles, the years of the rulers of this century are reduced by a total of twenty-four years, has the chronological problem of this period been solved? Let us see. The year of Azariah's accession according to II Kings 15:1 was the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam. Albright's dates for Jeroboam are 786 to 746, which would make 759 his twenty-seventh year. But the date given by Albright for the beginning of Azariah's reign is not 759 but 783—just twenty-four years before the date required by the synchronism of II Kings 15:1. Having proceeded on the basis of disregarding entirely the Biblical data as to the lengths of reign for the rulers of Judah during this century, reducing the reign of the first ruler by one year, of the second by two years, the third by eleven years, and the fourth by ten years, until he thinks he has eliminated this seeming excess of twenty-four years and then establishing his "revised estimates of their reigns solely on the synchronisms with Israel," Albright secures a date for the beginning of Azariah's reign which is twenty-four years earlier than that given in the synchronism of II Kings 15:1. Having endeavored to get rid of this difficulty in one place, he finds it cropping up in another. Thinking he has eliminated this seeming excess of twenty-four years from the totals of the years of reign, the difficulty concerning these same twenty-four years now appears in the synchronisms.

In dealing solely with the figures for the lengths of reign Albright could not ascertain the exact nature of the difficulty, but here the synchronisms direct us to the very crux of the problem, making it plain that the reign of Azariah must in some manner begin at a point twenty-four years earlier than the synchronism of II Kings 15:1

would seem to call for, for according to Albright's own dates, based, as he says, "solely on the synchronisms with Israel," he secures the third rather than the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II as the synchronism for Azariah's accession—the same synchronism used by me for the beginning of Azariah's coregency. Having begun the reign of Azariah at that point, however, it is not necessary for us to reject the validity of the synchronism of II Kings 15:1 as does Albright, for that synchronism is perfectly sound when correctly understood as the beginning of Azariah's sole reign. It thus becomes clear that the Biblical data when carefully examined provide both the synchronisms for the beginning of Azariah's coregency and his sole reign. Had Albright recognized this point it would not have been necessary for him to reject as erroneous the Biblical figure for the length of reign of each king of Judah for this century, nor, while endeavoring to reconstruct a chronology for this period based as he says "solely on the synchronisms with Israel," to reject the synchronism of the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam (II Kings 15:1) for Azariah's accession, and to adopt instead a synchronism twenty-four years before. In fine, we discover that this coregency of Azariah is attested to not only by the seeming excess of twenty-four years in the total reigns of Judah for this century as noticed by Albright but also by the synchronisms of five rulers of Israel expressed in terms of the years of this coregency, and now oddly enough, by Albright's own dates for Azariah and Jeroboam II. In his dates for these two kings Albright has unwittingly given a striking demonstration of the very close relationship existing between the data for the synchronisms and the lengths of reign, and he has further given this clear-cut evidence of Azariah's twenty-four year coregency, the existence of which, however, he does not acknowledge.

We have previously noticed the reliability of the datings for the century from 841, when Jehu and Athaliah began to reign, to 740, when Azariah and Pekahiah terminated their reigns, as evidenced by certain contacts between Israel and contemporary Assyrian history. It was in this century that we placed Israel's single coregency, that of Jeroboam II with his father Jehoash. The twenty-four surplus years noticed by Albright for the totals of the reigns of Judah for this century have just been considered. Let us notice the totals of Israel for this period, as shown on page 264.

From 841 to 740 is one hundred and one years, but for this period the total of the reigns for Israel comes to one hundred twelve years and seven months, or an excess of some eleven or twelve years. In our

reconstruction of the chronology of Israel for this century we noticed a coregency of Jeroboam II with his father Jehoahaz of twelve years. Let us notice in detail the evidence for this coregency.

Amaziah of Judah had a reign of twenty-nine years (II Kings 14:2), which began in the second year of Jehoash of Israel (II Kings 14:1). Since Jehoash ruled sixteen years (II Kings 13:10), or fourteen years

Jehu	..... 28 years, nonaccession-year system	Actual	27 years
Jehoahaz	..... 17 years, nonaccession-year system	Actual	16 years
Jehoash	..... 16 years, accession-year system	Actual	16 years
Jeroboam II	... 41 years, accession-year system	Actual	41 years
Zachariah	..... 6 months, accession-year system	Actual	6 months
Shallum	..... 1 month, accession-year system	Actual	1 month
Menahem	..... 10 years, accession-year system	Actual	10 years
Pekahiah	..... 2 years, accession-year system	Actual	2 years
Total	.....		112 years, 7 months

after Amaziah's accession, the first fourteen of Amaziah's twenty-nine years would overlap the reign of Jehoash, and the last fifteen years of Amaziah would overlap the first part of the reign of Jeroboam, successor of Jehoash. In such a case Azariah, son and successor of Amaziah, should have had his accession in the fifteenth year of Jeroboam. But II Kings 15:1 gives the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam, not the fifteenth, as the beginning of Azariah's reign. If this is true, then Jeroboam must in one sense have reigned twenty-seven years by the time Azariah came to the throne, and in another sense he must have reigned only fifteen years. The fifteen years would be the length of his sole reign at the time of Azariah's accession, while the twenty-seven years would include twelve years of coregency with his father Jehoash—the same twelve years found in the excess years of Israel for this century when compared with Assyrian chronology.

Let us notice still a third item pointing to this coregency. Azariah of Judah came to the throne in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam (II Kings 15:1). Since the length of Jeroboam's reign was forty-one years (II Kings 14:23), this would bring the death of Jeroboam fourteen years after the accession of Azariah and the death of Amaziah. Inasmuch as the death of Amaziah took place fifteen years after the death of Jehoash, father of Jeroboam (II Kings 14:17), this would bring the death of Jeroboam twenty-nine years after the death of Jehoash. Since, as already noticed, Jeroboam reigned forty-one years, and since, however, he reigned only twenty-nine years after the death of his father, he must have reigned twelve years with his father before the latter's death—the same twelve years twice before attested to. This threefold evidence for Jeroboam's coregency with his father

certainly must make it clear that this coregency is in no wise a matter of mere assumption but that it is an established fact.

When the coregencies of Jeroboam II in Israel and Azariah in Judah are recognized, some of the seemingly insuperable chronological problems of this century readily find their solution, but if they are not recognized, the problems with the Biblical data for this period cannot be solved.

Which treatment of the chronology of this century is to be regarded as arbitrary, and where is it that a resort to unwarranted assumptions is to be found—in a perfectly harmonious pattern secured by a recognition of such coregencies as are attested to by the evidence considered and an acceptance of the Biblical data involved, both as to synchronisms and lengths of reign, in Israel as well as Judah, or in an arrangement of reigns secured by “entirely disregarding the total reigns attributed to the kings of Judah” and an interpretation of the synchronisms of Israel as being such as “throughout contradict the regnal totals of the kings of Judah?”

The next two coregencies are those of Jotham and Ahaz. The one coregency which Albright recognizes in the period of the divided monarchies is that of Jotham, although he gives this as only eight instead of twelve years. To Ahaz he assigns a reign of twenty-one years, plus or minus, instead of sixteen years. It will be remembered that our pattern calls for a reign of twenty years for Ahaz, four of which were during the lifetime of his father Jotham in addition to his sixteen years of sole reign. The coregencies of both these kings are evidenced by the synchronisms for their accessions, and that of Jotham is specifically mentioned (II Kings 15:5; II Chron. 26:21). They have been discussed at length in a previous chapter and will not need further attention here.

The last coregency in our arrangement of reigns is that of Manasseh who ruled ten years with Hezekiah. As long as Israel existed, parallel records from that nation often pointed to the existence of coregencies in Judah, but now that the Northern Kingdom has come to its end, the records for Judah are in many respects inadequate. However, the excess of ten years in the total for Judah in this century together with the state of Hezekiah's health seems definitely to point to a coregency of Manasseh with his father Hezekiah. Albright deals with this excess of ten years by reducing the length of Manasseh's reign from fifty-five to forty-five years. Thus our totals for the sole reign of Manasseh are identical. The only question is whether there was a coregency or an error in the figure for the length of Manasseh's

reign. This figure is given both in II Kings 21:1 and II Chron. 33:1 as fifty-five years. If there was no coregency then Chronicles as well as Kings is wrong in the figure given for the years of Manasseh. Albright regards the evidence of both Chronicles and Kings in this regard as incorrect. Taking the whole picture into consideration—the state of Hezekiah's health, the age at which Manasseh began to reign, the question of the probable age of Hezekiah at the birth of his first-born son, the fact that the data concerning Manasseh come from both Chronicles and Kings, the reliability of the data concerning the earlier kings, the nature of the data pointing to the existence of previous coregencies, and the rather general use of coregencies in the Southern Kingdom—all this together seems to point more definitely to a coregency of Manasseh with Hezekiah than to an error of ten years in the figure for the length of Manasseh's reign.

The coregencies of Jehoshaphat and Manasseh are attested to by the evidence of the lengths of reign; the others primarily by the evidence of the synchronisms, but at times also by the additional evidence of the lengths of reign.

A recognition of these overlapping reigns in both Judah and Israel is necessary to a solution of the chronological problem of the Hebrew kings. Unless we take into consideration the fact that these coregencies existed, it will be necessary to assume the existence of a long series of errors in the data both regarding the synchronisms and the lengths of reign.

Efforts at adjustments in the figures given in the Massoretic text will not result in a solution of the chronological puzzle but will only create more problems than they solve. When Albright calls attention to his adjustment of the figure for Ahab's reign from twenty-two to twenty years—an adjustment which he reminds us was made by nearly all recent chronologists, including Kugler, Lewy, and Begrich—he declares that this was done "in accordance with the unmistakable evidence of the synchronisms, which were calculated in all probability by the Deuteronomic editor at the end of the seventh century B.C. and are thus of great value in checking the text, even where they turn out, as generally in the tenth and ninth centuries to be basically wrong."³¹ It is thus that the dates for Ahab, 869–850, are secured from the synchronisms and not from the data as to the lengths of reign, in this ninth century where the synchronisms are generally "basically wrong" and yet of such "great value in checking the text"!

Albright is here simply expressing the fact that no matter how

31. *Ibid.*, p. 21, n. 16.

“basically wrong” certain of the Massoretic data concerning the kings have been regarded, there is evidence that they are after all of the highest value in the reconstruction of the chronology of the kings. May it not be that there are far greater values in these figures than has been admitted? Why is it that certain of the greatest chronologists place such great emphasis upon the reliability for the figures concerning the lengths of reign, and other chronologists of equal repute have placed just as great emphasis upon the figures for the synchronisms? Might not both be right? In the past this has been felt impossible, because of the seeming contradictions between the synchronisms and the lengths of reign. But in the preceding pages we have demonstrated that, once the underlying principles of Hebrew chronology are understood, there is not conflict but a marvelous harmony between these two sets of data, and that, moreover, these synchronisms and lengths of reign when put together in accord with these basic principles produce a pattern of years that is in full accord with the established dates of Near Eastern history.

Let the dates of our chronological system be carefully checked against the dates as secured by the leading authorities in the field of Biblical chronology, and then let it be remembered that the pattern of these reigns was established solely upon the basis of the Biblical data both as to synchronisms and lengths of reign. This is a pattern which any reader following the principles here set forth can reestablish for himself without attention to the years of secular chronology anywhere along the line. Once that pattern has been reconstructed it will be necessary to secure only a single established date—be it 701, 732, 841, 853 or any other absolute year for either Israel or Judah—as a point of beginning, and the pattern of years as here set forth will be the result. The remarkable parallels that exist between the years of our system and those on the whole of the leading chronologists of our time give evidence as to the basic soundness of the Massoretic data concerning both synchronisms and lengths of reign, and we may say as well, as to the soundness of the results of modern historical research into the ancient history of the Near East.

Chapter Twelve

IN CONCLUSION

THE vital question concerning the chronological scheme set forth in these pages is whether or not it represents the true arrangement of reigns of the Hebrew kings. Certainly this is a system which has brought harmony out of what was once regarded as hopeless confusion, but is it necessarily the true restoration of the original pattern of reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah? When we once accept the premise of an original reckoning of reigns in Israel according to the nonaccession-year system with a later shift to the accession-year method; of the early use in Judah of accession-year reckoning, a shift to the nonaccession-year system, and then a return to the original accession-year method; when we begin the regnal year in Israel with Nisan and with Tishri in Judah; when we take into consideration the existence of a number of coregencies; and when we recognize that at some late date—long after the original records of the kings had been set in order and when the true arrangement of the reigns had been forgotten—certain synchronisms in II Kings 17 and 18 were introduced by some late hand strangely out of harmony with the original pattern of reigns—when all this is understood, we have shown that it becomes possible to set forth an arrangement of reigns for the Hebrew kings in which we find both internal harmony and agreement with the facts of contemporary history. Whether the results thus secured are merely the product of accident and caprice, or whether this is indeed the correct chronological scheme of the Hebrew kings, is a matter of considerable importance.

If we possessed an absolute scheme of chronology of the ancient Near East allowing of checks with the kings of Israel and Judah all the way along the line, we might find ourselves in a position to say beyond question that the chronological problem of the kings had been finally and fully solved. But such complete checks are not possible today, and probably never will be.

The hope of securing any large amount of exact chronological information from the nations of the East beyond that available today is not very bright. Here and there some information concerning some isolated points in the ancient history of Assyria, Babylon, Egypt,

Phoenicia, Syria, Ammon, or Moab may yet be secured, and from these it is possible that some exact correlations with Hebrew history may yet be obtained. But on the whole the prospect of finding many new sources of information concerning the chronology of the neighbours of Israel and Judah and thus securing checks on the chronology of the Hebrew kings is not very good.

It is possible, however, that more can be done in the way of checking the accuracy of proposed chronological schemes of the rulers of Israel and Judah from a study of the internal evidence itself than we have seen thus far. A study of the arrangement of the data concerning the Hebrew rulers as found in the Books of Kings reveals a number of items of interest. On page 270 is a table of these chronological data arranged in the order of sequence in which they appear in the Massoretic record as this has come down to us. To each king has been given the number as his name first appears on the list. In the last column the date is given for each item as it appears in our pattern of reigns. For the synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1 we have given the dates as they appear in Pattern Twelve-Thirteen.

A brief glance at this list reveals the unmistakable fact that the data of synchronisms and lengths of reign concerning the Hebrew rulers appear in the record of Kings in basic accord with the order of sequence with which these rulers appear in the chronological pattern of reigns. The first name on the list is that of Jeroboam of Israel, the datum of whose reign appears in I Kings 14:20, while in the next verse appears the datum for Rehoboam. But did not Rehoboam begin to reign before Jeroboam, if only by a very brief period? Certainly, but it will be recalled that for the beginning of our pattern of reigns we emphasized the point that Jeroboam's reign is reckoned according to a regnal year having its beginning in Nisan, 931 B.C., while Rehoboam's reign is reckoned according to a regnal year beginning with Tishri, 931. This does not mean that the reign of Jeroboam began before that of Rehoboam, but it does mean that the reign of Rehoboam began some time after the first of Tishri, 931, and that Jeroboam began his reign shortly after that, but some time before Nisan, 930, and that the chronological scheme of the rulers of the divided monarchies commenced with a regnal year for the ruler of Israel which began with a month earlier than that which began the accession year of the ruler of Judah.

With Jeroboam already on the throne, the data of the next two rulers, Abijam and Asa, follow with their accessions synchronized with the eighteenth and twentieth years of Jeroboam. With Asa

already on the throne, and with the data of his reign appearing as the fourth item on the list, we next find six rulers in Israel with their accessions all synchronized in terms of the years of Asa—the second, third, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, thirty-first, and thirty-eighth years.

In I Kings 16:10, 15 the data are found concerning the brief reign of Zimri, and in the following verse mention is made of Omri's being made king but no data of his reign are there given. Then in verse 18 the record appears of Zimri's death after his short reign of seven days, and in verse 21 comes the statement of the simultaneous reigns of Omri and Tibni, with the death of Tibni mentioned in verse 22, and Omri's accession in the thirty-first year of Asa in verse 23. If this arrangement of data is of any significance, then Tibni began his rule simultaneously with Omri in the twenty-seventh year of Asa, when Zimri seized the throne, and he died in the thirty-first year of Asa,

ARRANGEMENT OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATA IN THE BOOKS OF KINGS

Sequence of Kings	Reference	Nation	King	Length of Reign	Synchronism	Date
1.	I, 14:20	I	Jeroboam I	22 years	.....	931/30
2.	I, 14:21	J	Rehoboam	17 years	.....	931/30
3.	I, 15:1, 2	J	Abijam	3 years	18th of Jeroboam	913
4.	I, 15:9, 10	J	Asa	41 years	20th of Jeroboam	911/10
5.	I, 15:25	I	Nadab	2 years	2d of Asa	910/9
6.	I, 15:28, 33	I	Baasha	24 years	3d of Asa	909/8
7.	I, 16:8	I	Elah	2 years	26th of Asa	886/85
8.	I, 16:10, 15	I	Zimri	7 days	27th of Asa	885/84
9.	I, 16:15, 16	I	Omri	.....	.....	885/84
10.	I, 16:21, 22	I	Tibni	.....	.....	885/84
(9)	I, 16:23	I	Omri	12 years	31st of Asa	880
11.	I, 16:29	I	Ahab	22 years	38th of Asa	874/73
12.	I, 22:41, 42	J	Jehoshaphat	25 years	4th of Ahab	873/2
13.	I, 22:51	I	Ahasiah	2 years	17th of Jehoshaphat	853
14.	II, 1:17	I	Joram	.....	2d of Jehoram	852
	II, 3:1	I	"	12 years	18th of Jehoshaphat	852
15.	II, 8:16, 17	J	Jehoram	8 years	5th of Joram	848
16.	II, 8:25	J	Ahasiah	1 year	12th of Joram	841
	II, 9:29	I	"	.....	11th of Joram	841
17.	II, 10:36	I	Jehu	28 years	.....	841
18.	II, 11:3, 4	J	Athaliah	7 years	.....	841
19.	II, 12:1	J	Joash	40 years	7th of Jehu	835
20.	II, 13:1	I	Jehoash	17 years	23d of Joash	814/13
21.	II, 13:10	I	Jehoash	16 years	37th Joash	798
22.	II, 14:1, 2	J	Amaziah	29 years	2d of Jehoash	796
23.	II, 14:23	I	Jeroboam II	41 years	15th of Amaziah	793/92
24.	II, 15:1, 2	J	Asariah	52 years	27th of Jeroboam	791/90
25.	II, 15:8	I	Zachariah	6 months	38th of Asariah	753
26.	II, 15:13	I	Shallum	1 month	39th of Asariah	752
27.	II, 15:17	I	Menahem	10 years	39th of Asariah	752
28.	II, 15:23	I	Pekahiah	2 years	50th of Asariah	742/41
29.	II, 15:27	I	Pekah	20 years	52d of Asariah	740/39
30.	II, 15:30	I	Hoshea	.....	20th of Jotham	732/31
31.	II, 15:32, 33	J	Jotham	16 years	2d of Pekah	750
32.	II, 16:1, 2	J	Ahas	16 years	17th of Pekah	735
(30)	II, 17:1	I	Hoshea	9 years	12th of Ahas	720/19
33.	II, 18:1, 2	J	Hosekiah	29 years	3d of Hoshea	716/15
34.	II, 21:1	J	Manasseh	55 years	.....	696/95
35.	II, 21:19	J	Amon	2 years	.....	642/41
36.	II, 22:1	J	Josiah	31 years	.....	640/39
37.	II, 23:31	J	Jehoahaz	3 months	.....	608
38.	II, 23:36	J	Jehoiaakim	11 years	.....	608
39.	II, 24:8	J	Jehoiachin	3 months	.....	597
40.	II, 24:18	J	Zedekiah	11 years	.....	597

Slew Zimri and reigned
Ruled part of the land
Beginning of undisputed reign

Date beginning coregency

Sole reign
Nonaccession-year system
Accession-year system

Date beginning coregency
Date beginning coregency

Years of factitious reign

Beginning of coregency
Beginning of coregency
Pattern Twelve-Thirteen
Beginning of coregency

when Omri became undisputed ruler over Israel. It should be noted that the official record of Omri's reign appearing in I Kings 16:23 gives the year of his accession as that of the beginning of his undisputed reign, while the length of his reign includes the years since he first was made king at the time of Zimri's seizure of the throne. Following the record of Ahab's accession in the thirty-eighth year of Asa comes the synchronism of Jehoshaphat's accession in the fourth year of Ahab. For Jehoshaphat the official data again give the time of his accession as the year when he began his sole reign, while the length of reign includes the years of his coregency. With Jehoshaphat on the throne, the next record is that of Ahaziah of Israel beginning his reign in the seventeenth year of Jehoshaphat.

Then follows the name of Joram of Israel, with two synchronisms, that of II Kings 1:17, the second of Jehoram of Judah, and that of II Kings 3:1, the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat. This item is of some interest, for we have here a synchronism of an accession in terms of a king whose record had not previously been given. It should be noticed, moreover, that the synchronism of the second year of Jehoram appears before that of the eighteenth year of Jehoshaphat. If sequence is of any significance in these data, it means that Jehoram of Judah was already ruling before his father Jehoshaphat had terminated his reign, that the synchronism of II Kings 8:16 is the synchronism of his accession as sole ruler rather than as coregent, and the synchronism of Joram's accession in Israel is that of the second year of Jehoram of Judah as coregent, not as sole ruler. These are items of vital importance to a correct understanding of the original arrangement of reigns of the Hebrew kings, and they are all items which may be learned from the sequence in which the data appear in the record of Kings. The fact that the next item to appear after the data of Joram of Israel is the data of Jehoram of Judah indicates that our arrangement of reigns at this point is correct. It should be noted that for Jehoram of Judah both the synchronism and the years of reign are those of his sole rulership.

Next comes the accession of Ahaziah of Judah with two synchronisms, the twelfth and the eleventh years of Joram of Israel. It will be noticed that the first synchronism is that of the twelfth of Joram (II Kings 8:25), and that the second is that of Joram's eleventh year (II Kings 9:29). If sequence here is of any significance it means that the twelfth year of Joram must be at least as early as his eleventh year, for otherwise these synchronisms would have appeared in the reverse order. This is exactly the case, for it will be remembered that

this is the period when Judah made a shift in the method of reckoning its reigns, and we have in this instance two synchronisms for the same accession, one according to the nonaccession-year system and the other according to the accession-year method, and both referring to the same year.

For Jehu and Athaliah no synchronisms are given, only the lengths of reign. The record for Jehu appears in II Kings 10:36, and that of Athaliah in II Kings 11:3, 4. Athaliah came to the throne in the same year as did Jehu, and only very shortly after Jehu.

Next come the accession of Joash in the seventh year of Jehu, of Jehoahaz in the twenty-third year of Joash, of Jehoash in the thirty-seventh year of Joash, of Amaziah in Judah in the second year of Jehoash, of Jeroboam II in the fifteenth year of Amaziah, and of Azariah in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam. It will be noticed that there is a perfect order of sequence in all these items. In the case of both Jeroboam II and Azariah the years of reign go back to the beginning of the coregency, but the synchronisms are those of the beginning of the sole reign.

The next five items are five kings of Israel whose accessions are all synchronized with the years of Azariah as reckoned from the beginning of his coregency—Zachariah, Shallum, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah, in the thirty-eighth, thirty-ninth, thirty-ninth once more, fiftieth, and fifty-second years of Azariah. Again there is a perfect order of sequence.

Following the record of Pekah's accession in the fifty-second year of Azariah comes the synchronism of Hoshea's accession in the twentieth year of Jotham. But where is Jotham? The fifty-second year of Azariah was the last year of his reign, and if the usual order of sequence is here to be followed we should now have the synchronism of Jotham's accession. But instead of Jotham we have the accession of Hoshea, and that in the twentieth year of Jotham. This synchronism thus could not have been recorded until Jotham had had at least twenty years of reign.

Up to this point we have had no evidence of any variation from a perfect order of sequence in the arrangement of the data of the kings, but here that order has been broken. It will be recognized that we have now reached the period which is generally acknowledged as the most difficult in the chronology of the Hebrew kings. This is also the most interesting point as concerns the matter of sequence of the chronological data. If the data are not now arranged in the exact

order of sequence that has thus far been followed, let us endeavor to ascertain what the correct order here should be.

We know that if Azariah ruled fifty-two years and if he was succeeded by Jotham, and if Pekah began his reign in the fifty-second year of Azariah, Pekah must have come to the throne at about the same time that Jotham began his sole reign. But who came first, Jotham or Pekah? It must have been Pekah, for since his accession is synchronized with the fifty-second year of Azariah, we know that Azariah was still alive when Pekah began to reign. So the name of Pekah is in its correct place on the record following the name of Pekahiah. If the synchronism for Jotham had been given in terms of his sole reign, that name should appear next; but if the synchronism were given in terms of the beginning of his coregency, it should have appeared somewhat earlier on the list, depending upon just where he first began to rule with his father. But instead of Jotham, the next name is that of Hoshea, and then follow the names of Jotham, Ahaz, Hoshea a second time, and Hezekiah. But having already had the name of Hoshea, why should it appear once more, following the names of Jotham and Ahaz? It is clear that something unusual has here taken place in the arrangement of names in the Massoretic record. The names involved, following that of Pekah, are Hoshea in Israel, and Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah in Judah. It will be noticed that these are the names previously mentioned as involved in Pattern Twelve-Thirteen.

For a study of the chronological sequence of events in this period of Hebrew history let us return to the dates previously given in our reconstructed pattern. These are as follows:

Date	Event	Synchronism	II Kings
752....	Menahem deposed Shallum	39th of Azariah	15:17
752....	Year to which Pekah was to throw back his reign		
750....	Jotham began to reign as coregent	2d of Pekah	15:32
742/41..	Pekahiah succeeded Menahem	50th of Azariah	15:23
740/39..	Pekah deposed Pekahiah	52d of Azariah	15:27
740/39..	Death of Azariah		
740/39..	Jotham began his sole reign		
735....	Ahaz began to rule on Jotham's throne	17th of Pekah	16:1
732/31..	Hoshea deposed Pekah	20th of Jotham	15:30
732/31..	Death of Jotham		
732/31..	Beginning of sole reign of Ahaz		
719/18..	Accession of Hoshea (Pattern Twelve-Thirteen)	12th of Ahaz	17:1
716/15..	Death of Ahaz		
716/15..	Beginning of Hezekiah's reign		
716/15..	Hezekiah's accession (Pattern Twelve-Thirteen)	3d of Hoshea	18:1

We believe that the above is the correct order of sequence of the events for the period here being considered. Since the year 732 marked both the beginning of Hoshea's rule in Israel and the sole reign of Ahaz in Judah, the question may arise as to who began to reign first, Ahaz or Hoshea. It was Hoshea, for since his accession is synchronized with the twentieth year of Jotham, we know that Jotham was still alive when Hoshea seized the throne from Pekah and that Ahaz had not yet commenced his sole reign. The other items have already been discussed in sufficient detail.

The first item in the above list is the accession of Menahem in 752, synchronized with the 39th year of Azariah. There is nothing unusual about this synchronism; it is of the type we have had all the way along for the Hebrew kings. There is no reason why such a synchronism could not have been inserted in the official court records at the time when the king began his reign. But with the next synchronism, that of Jotham, this is not the case, for when Jotham began to reign as coregent in the year 750, Menahem was upon the throne, and this was at least ten years before Pekah was to seize the throne from Pekahiah. That synchronism expressed in terms of the sequestered years of Pekah's reign could, therefore, not have been a matter of contemporaneous recording, and could not have been placed upon the record until some time after 740/39 when Pekah began his reign. The next two synchronisms, those of the accession of Pekahiah in the fiftieth year of Azariah, and of Pekah in Azariah's fifty-second year, are again of the usual type. But the following synchronism, giving the accession of Ahaz in the seventeenth year of Pekah's reign, is again a bit unusual, for this is not the seventeenth year since Pekah took the throne from Pekahiah, but the seventeenth of his strangely sequestered years. So this synchronism of II Kings 16:1 may be put into the same category as that of II Kings 15:32. The synchronism of II Kings 15:30, giving the accession of Hoshea in the twentieth year of Jotham, is again of the usual order. But the next synchronism, that of II Kings 17:1, placing the accession of Hoshea in the twelfth year of Ahaz, is definitely not of the usual order, for the accession of Hoshea had already been given in II Kings 15:30. If the twelfth year of Ahaz had actually been synchronous with the twentieth year of Jotham, and if both of these synchronisms had marked the same year of Hoshea's accession, the Massoretic record would not have had the data of II Kings 15:32, 33 and 16:1, 2, concerning Jotham and Ahaz, between these two synchronisms of II Kings 15:30 and 17:1 for the accession of Hoshea. We have previously noticed that this second synchronism

of II Kings 17:1 for Hoshea's accession, and that of II Kings 18:1 for Hezekiah, belong to Pattern Twelve-Thirteen.

It thus appears that the above eight synchronisms may be divided into three separate groups, (1) a group of the usual type that have appeared all the way along for the Hebrew kings, (2) synchronisms in terms of the sequestered years of Pekah, and (3) synchronisms belonging to Pattern Twelve-Thirteen. Let us place these synchronisms in three such groups:

GROUP 1

1. II Kings 15:17	Accession of Menahem	39th of Azariah	752
2. II Kings 15:23	Accession of Pekahiah	50th of Azariah	742/41
3. II Kings 15:27	Accession of Pekah	52d of Azariah	740/39
4. II Kings 15:30	Accession of Hoshea	20th of Jotham	732

GROUP 2

5. II Kings 15:32	Accession of Jotham	2d of Pekah	750
6. II Kings 16:1	Accession of Ahaz	17th of Pekah	735

GROUP 3

7. II Kings 17:1	Accession of Hoshea	12th of Ahaz	720/19
8. II Kings 18:1	Accession of Hezekiah	3d of Hoshea	716/15

When these synchronisms are thus listed they reveal a number of items of interest. Those in the first group are all kings of Israel synchronized in their order of sequence with kings of Judah. Those in the second group are kings of Judah synchronized in their order of sequence with Pekah of Israel. In the third group appear one king of Israel and one of Judah, both arranged in the order of sequence according to the years of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen.

The date for the last item in the first group is 732, while the two items in the second group are 750 and 735, and in the third group, 720/19 and 716/15. Thus the items which we have numbered from one to eight inclusive, if arranged in accord with their sequence of years, would appear in the following order:

Item	Date	Event	Synchronism	Reference
1.	752	Accession of Menahem	39th of Azariah	II Kings 15:17
5.	750	Accession of Jotham	2d of Pekah	II Kings 15:32
2.	742/41	Accession of Pekahiah	50th of Azariah	II Kings 15:23
3.	740/39	Accession of Pekah	52d of Azariah	II Kings 15:27
6.	735	Accession of Ahaz	17th of Pekah	II Kings 16:1
4.	732	Accession of Hoshea	20th of Jotham	II Kings 15:30
7.	720/19	Accession of Hoshea	12th of Ahaz	II Kings 17:1
8.	716/15	Accession of Hezekiah	3d of Hoshea	II Kings 18:1

If these same items were to be arranged in a sequence according to the kings and their accessions, the order would be as follows:

Item	Event	Synchronism	Date	Reference
1.	Accession of Menahem	39th of Azariah	752	II Kings 15:17
2.	Accession of Pekahiah	50th of Azariah	742/41	II Kings 15:23
3.	Accession of Pekah	52d of Azariah	740/39	II Kings 15:27
5.	Accession of Jotham	2d of Pekah	750	II Kings 15:32
6.	Accession of Ahaz	17th of Pekah	735	II Kings 16:1
4.	Accession of Hoshea	20th of Jotham	732	II Kings 15:30
7.	Accession of Hoshea	12th of Ahaz	720/19	II Kings 17:1
8.	Accession of Hezekiah	3d of Hoshea	716/15	II Kings 18:1

If we would go back to our first arrangement of these synchronisms into three groups and notice the references there from the Books of Kings, we will make the interesting discovery that the references appear in the order of sequence in which they are found in Kings. In other words, having divided the synchronisms into three separate classifications, we find them arranged in the order of sequence in which they appear in the Massoretic text.

This order is, however, definitely not in line with the regular order of sequence that has been noticed for the data of all the earlier rulers of the Hebrew monarchies. The data for the first twenty-nine rulers were found to follow an unvarying order of chronological sequence, but when we come to this section, that order is broken. Listing the synchronisms as we have, the reason for the present arrangement in Kings immediately becomes apparent, for we have here the synchronisms arranged according to three distinct classifications. Those in the first group are all of one type—synchronisms that could have been, and probably were, placed in the official records at the time when these kings began to reign. They are simply a continuation of those appearing in the previous group in which are included all the official data thus far appearing in Kings—all appearing in an unbroken order of chronological sequence. But when we come to Group 2, for the first time we meet with a synchronism which could not have been a matter of contemporary recording, for the synchronism of II Kings 15:32 could not have been placed within the record until at least ten years after the beginning of the reign to which it refers. The second synchronism of that group could have been a matter of contemporaneous recording if Pekah had at that time already decided to throw back the beginning of his reign to the year marking the beginning of the dynasty which he overthrew, and if the scribes of Judah had at that time decided to follow Israel in such an unusual method of reckoning his reign. While these synchronisms give definite evidence of

being of a different type from those appearing before them in Kings, and while they give evidence of being somewhat later, they give no evidence of being very late, for the individual responsible for them was acquainted with the arrangement of the reigns involved. Those synchronisms are perfectly correct when their correct meaning is understood.

But when we come to the third group we find synchronisms that possess every evidence of being late. They appear late in the record, following the synchronisms of groups one and two, because they were created late and were late in finding their way into the text. Those synchronisms were not matters of contemporaneous recording but of late calculation. They come from a time when the period of synchronisms was long since past—long after the official data for those kings had been placed on record, and at a time when the exact arrangement of reigns of that period had been forgotten. They appear to be in the nature of calculations or notations from the hand of some late editor or copyist rather than of contemporary recordings placed in the original court record by an official scribe.

The synchronism of II Kings 16:1 closes the true and official list of synchronisms of the Hebrew kings. The synchronism of Hoshea had already been given and correctly so in II Kings 15:30, and no further synchronism for that king was needed. The very introduction of a second accession for Hoshea in II Kings 17:1 is of itself evidence that something is out of order. In the entire list of synchronisms, no other ruler ever had two synchronisms given for two accessions at two different times. The synchronisms of II Kings 1:17 and 3:1 for Joram of Israel and of II Kings 8:25 and 9:29 for Ahaziah of Judah refer to single accessions. No intervening data for other kings are to be found either between II Kings 1:17 and 3:1 or II Kings 8:25 and 9:29. But this is not true of II Kings 15:30 and 17:1, for between those two synchronisms of Hoshea the data are found for Jotham and Ahaz in II Kings 15:32, 33 and 16:1, 2. In the original record concerning the kings, the official data of a ruler evidently appeared together in one place, and those data having been given, the data of the next ruler appeared. In the case of coregencies, the synchronisms were given either in terms of the commencement of the coregency or that of the sole reign, but never both. In the case of Omri only one synchronism was given, that marking the beginning of his undisputed rule in the thirty-first year of Asa, no synchronism marking his first beginning of kingship at the time he displaced Zimri in the twenty-seventh year of Asa having been placed in the official record.

Thus the very existence of the synchronism of II Kings 17:1 gives evidence of its being late and extraneous. The scribe who recorded the first synchronism of Hoshea's accession, in the twentieth year of Jotham (II Kings 15:30), knew exactly what it meant—that Jotham had already reigned twelve official years conjointly with his father before he became sole ruler. But at the time when the synchronism of II Kings 17:1 came into being, the fact of Jotham's coregency had been forgotten, and this was also the case concerning the details of Pekah's strangely sequestered years involved in the synchronisms of II Kings 15:32 and 16:1. With the latter item the original official list of synchronisms between kings of Israel and Judah came to its end. Any synchronism after that would be uncalled for and impertinent. The evidence on this point is conclusive—evidence from the standpoint of internal harmony, from the manner of arrangement of the data in Kings, and from a comparison with the events of contemporary history. The synchronisms of II Kings 17:1 and 18:1, 9, 10 all give evidence of coming from the same late hand, all based on the same misconception concerning the arrangement of reigns of the Hebrew kings, and must be treated accordingly in any correct reconstruction of Hebrew chronology.

The order of sequence of the chronological data in the Books of Kings is certainly more than an accident, in this latter section as well as in that which has gone before. The structure of these books seems to consist of a body of material built around a central core of chronological data arranged in exact accord with the order of sequence in which these kings came to the throne. At some very early time in Hebrew history there must have been in existence an official list of chronological materials concerning the kings of both Judah and Israel arranged in the exact order in which these kings ruled, and this list must have been used as a basis for the composition of the Books of Kings. Up to the reign of Pekah there is nothing that would prevent the synchronisms of this list from having been the product of contemporaneous recording rather than of late calculation.

The synchronism of II Kings 15:30, giving the accession of Hoshea in terms of the years of Jotham, is the first synchronism that gives evidence of being out of the usual order of chronological sequence, for the official data concerning Jotham had not previously been given. Since the twentieth year of Jotham, 732/31, the year of Hoshea's accession (II Kings 15:30), is the year of Pekah's death, and since the next two synchronisms, II Kings 15:32 and 16:1, are the synchronisms giving the accessions of Jotham and Ahaz in terms

of the reign of Pekah strangely thrown back from 740/39 to 752 B.C., it is entirely possible that it was not until after the death of Pekah that the decision was finally reached to accept for his reign this unusual method of reckoning.

When the principles underlying the arrangement of the chronological materials in the Books of Kings are understood, it will be seen that the very arrangement of this material may be used as an interesting test concerning the correctness of any proposed chronological scheme. Any scheme for the kings that may be formulated will of course follow in the main the order of arrangement of the chronological data in Kings. But at certain points this order presents severe and important tests. This is particularly true in places where coregencies or shifts in chronological procedure are involved, such as in II Kings 1:17 and 3:1, in II Kings 8:25 and 9:29, in the synchronisms in terms of Pekah, II Kings 15:32 and 16:1, and in the area of Pattern Twelve-Thirteen, II Kings 17:1 and 18:1. When our dates are set against the references in Kings it will be found that every requirement demanded by the present order of sequence in the data given will be fully met.

It is only proper that the dates herein set forth for the kings of Judah and Israel should be subjected to every possible test. If these dates are final and absolute, they have nothing to fear from the most careful and exhaustive research—they will stand. If they are not final, and if indisputable evidence can prove them in error, they have no right to stand. Up to the present they have withstood every test that we have been able to bring upon them. Other tests await them. The kings of Judah and Israel have in the years gone by had part in many a fray. We have no reason to believe that their days of conflict are over. Our only hope is that, when the smoke of the battle clears and the din of the final conflict has at length subsided, each of these valiant stalwarts of old may occupy his right, indisputable place in history.

Appendix A

THE CHRONOLOGICAL DATA OF THE KINGS

JUDAH

Data according to the accession-year system

King	Synchronism	Length of Reign	Reference	
Rehoboam		17 years	I Kings 14:21	II Chron. 12:13
Abijam	18th of Jeroboam	3 years	I Kings 15:1, 2	II Chron. 13:1, 2
Asa	20th of Jeroboam	41 years	I Kings 15:9, 10	II Chron. 16:13
Jehoshaphat	4th of Ahab	25 years	I Kings 22:41, 42	II Chron. 20:31

Data according to the nonaccession-year system

Jehoram	5th of Joram	8 years	II Kings 8:16, 17	II Chron. 21:5, 20
Ahaziah	12th of Joram	1 year	II Kings 8:25, 26	II Chron. 22:2
Ahaziah	11th of Joram*		II Kings 9:29	
Athaliah			II Kings 11:3, 4	II Chron. 22:12
Joash	7th of Jehu	40 years	II Kings 12:1	II Chron. 24:1

Data according to the accession-year system

Amaziah	2d of Jehoash	29 years	II Kings 14:1, 2	II Chron. 25:1
Azariah	27th of Jeroboam	52 years	II Kings 15:1, 2	II Chron. 26:3
Jotham	2d of Pekah	16 years	II Kings 15:32, 33	II Chron. 27:1, 8
Ahaz	17th of Pekah	16 years	II Kings 16:1, 2	II Chron. 28:1
Hezekiah	3d of Hoshea	29 years	II Kings 18:1, 2	II Chron. 29:1
Manasseh		55 years	II Kings 21:1	II Chron. 33:1
Amon		2 years	II Kings 21:19	II Chron. 33:21
Josiah		31 years	II Kings 22:1	II Chron. 34:1
Jehoahaz		3 months	II Kings 23:31	II Chron. 36:2
Jehoiakim		11 years	II Kings 23:36	II Chron. 36:5
Jehoiachin		3 months	II Kings 24:8	
Jehoiachin		3 months, 10 days		II Chron. 36:9
Zedekiah		11 years	II Kings 24:18	II Chron. 36:11

ISRAEL

Data according to the nonaccession-year system

Jeroboam I		22 years	I Kings 14:20	
Nadab	2d of Asa	2 years	I Kings 15:25	
Baasha	3d of Asa	24 years	I Kings 15:28, 33	
Elah	26th of Asa	2 years	I Kings 16:8	
Zimri	27th of Asa	7 days	I Kings 16:10, 15	
Tibni			I Kings 16:21, 22	
Omri	31st of Asa	12 years	I Kings 16:23	
Ahab	38th of Asa	22 years	I Kings 16:29	
Ahaziah	17th of Jehoshaphat	2 years	I Kings 22:51	
Joram	18th of Jehoshaphat	12 years	II Kings 3:1	
Joram	2d of Jehoram		II Kings 1:17	
Jehu		28 years	II Kings 10:36	
Jehoahaz	23d of Joash	17 years	II Kings 13:1	

* This synchronism is according to the accession-year system.

Data according to the accession-year system

King	Synchronism	Length of Reign	Reference
Jehoash	37th of Joash	16 years	II Kings 13:10
Jeroboam II	15th of Amaziah	41 years	II Kings 14:23
Zachariah	38th of Azariah	6 months	II Kings 15:8
Shallum	39th of Azariah	1 month	II Kings 15:13
Menahem	39th of Azariah	10 years	II Kings 15:17
Pekahiah	50th of Azariah	2 years	II Kings 15:23
Pekah	52d of Azariah	20 years	II Kings 15:27
Hoshea	20th of Jotham		II Kings 15:30
Hoshea	12th of Ahaz	9 years	II Kings 17:1

Appendix B

THE DATES OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

ISRAEL			JUDAH		
King	Overlapping Reigns	Reign	King	Coregency	Reign
Jeroboam I .		931/30-910/9	Rehoboam .		931/30-913
Nadab		910/9 -909/8	Abijam		913 -911/10
Baasha		909/8 -886/85	Asa		911/10-870/69
Elah		886/85-885/84			
Zimri		885/84			
Tibni		885/84-880			
Omri	885/84-880	880 -874/73	Jehoshaphat	873/72-870/69	870/69-848
Ahab		874/73-853	Jehoram . . .	853 -848	848 -841
Ahaziah		853 -852	Ahaziah		841
Joram		852 -841	Athaliah		841 -835
Jehu		841 -814/13	Joash		835 -796
Jehoahaz		814/13-798	Amaziah		796 -767
Jehoash		798 -782/81	Azariah	791/90-767	767 -740/39
Jeroboam II	793/92-782/81	782/81-753			
Zachariah		753 -752			
Shallum		752	Jotham	750 -740/39	740/39-732/31
Menahem		752 -742/41	Ahaz	735 -732/31	732/31-716/15
Pekahiah		742/41-740/39			
Pekah	752 -740/39	740/39-732/31	Hezekiah		716/15-687/86
Hoshea		732/31-723/22	Manasseh . . .	696/95-687/86	687/86-642/41
			Amon		642/41-640/39
			Josiah		640/39-608
			Jehoahaz		608
			Jehoiakim		608 -597
			Jehoiachin		597
			Zedekiah		597 -586

Appendix C

THE AGES OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH

King	Father	Age at Accession as Coregent	Age at Beginning of Sole Reign	Age at Birth of Successor	Age at Association of Son as Coregent	Age at Death
Rehoboam . . .	Solomon		4 ¹			59
Abijam	Rehoboam					
Asa	Abijam					
Jehoshaphat . . .	Asa	35	38	23	54	59
Jehoram	Jehoshaphat	32	37	23		44
Ahaziah	Jehoram		22 (42)	22		22
Athaliah	Ahab					
Joash	Ahaziah		7	22		46
Amaziah	Joash		25	16	31	54
Azariah	Amaziah	16	39	32	56	66
Jotham	Azariah	25	35	21		39
Ahaz	Jotham		20	15		39
Hezekiah	Ahaz		25	34	45	54
Manasseh	Hezekiah	12	21	45		66
Amon	Manasseh		22	17		24
Josiah	Amon		8	18	Jehoahaz	40
				16	Jehoiakim	
				31	Zedekiah	
Jehoahaz	Josiah		23			
Jehoiakim	Josiah		25	19		36
Jehoiachin	Jehoiakim		18 (8)			
Zedekiah	Josiah		21			

Appendix D

COREGENCIES AND RIVAL REIGNS IN ISRAEL AND JUDAH

	YEARS RECORDED	YEARS OF CO- REGENCY OR OVERLAPPING REIGN
Coregency Included in the Total Years of Reign		
<i>Judah:</i>		
Jehoshaphat	25	4
Azariah	52	24
Jotham	16 (20)	12
Manasseh	55	10
<i>Israel:</i>		
Jeroboam II	41	12
Coregency Not Included in the Total Years of Reign		
<i>Judah:</i>		
Jehoram	8	6
Ahaz	16	4
Recorded Reign Partially Overlapping the Reign of a Rival King		
<i>Israel:</i>		
Omri	12	6
Recorded Reign Partially Overlapping That of the Previously Reigning House		
<i>Israel:</i>		
Pekah	20	12

Appendix E

HEBREW AND BABYLONIAN MONTHS

	Babylonian	Hebrew	Approximate Modern Equivalent
1.	Nisanu	Nisan	Middle of March to middle of April
2.	Aiaru	Iyyar	Middle of April to middle of May
3.	Simanu	Sivan	Middle of May to middle of June
4.	Duzu	Tammuz	Middle of June to middle of July
5.	Abu	Ab	Middle of July to middle of August
6.	Ululu	Elul	Middle of August to middle of September
7.	Tashritu	Tishri	Middle of September to middle of October
8.	Arahsamnu	Heshvan	Middle of October to middle of November
9.	Kislimu	Kislev	Middle of November to middle of December
10.	Tebet	Tebeth	Middle of December to middle of January
11.	Shabatu	Shebat	Middle of January to middle of February
12.	Addaru	Adar	Middle of February to middle of March

Appendix F

THE ASSYRIAN EPONYM LIST

[NOTE: This list of the Assyrian eponyms is based on the list of Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II (Chicago, 1927), 430 ff. From 648 to 783 the dates are the same. Nabu-shar-usur has been transferred from 784 to 786 where he occupies the same eponym year with Balatu, thus reducing each eponymy beyond 786 by one year.]

892	.....	shar	.....
891	Urta-zarme		
890	Tâb-êtir-Assur		
889	Assur la-Kînu		
888	Tukulti-Urta, the king		
887	Tak-lak-ana-bêl-ia		
886	Abi-ili-a-a		
885	Ilu-milki		
884	Iari		
883	Assur-shezibani		
882	Assur-nasir-apli, the king		
881	Assur-iddin		
880	Shumurti-adur		
879	Sha-ilima-damka		
878	Dagan-bêl-nasir		
877	Urta-pia-usur		
876	Urta-bêl-usur		
875	Shangu-Assur-lilbur		
874	Shamash-upahir (v., ub-la)		
873	Nergal-bêl-kumua		
872	Kurdi-Assur		
871	Assur-li'		
870	Assur-natkil		
869	Bêl-mudammik		
868	Daiân-Urta		
867	Ishtar-emukâia		
866	Shamash-nûri		
865	Mannu-dân-ana-ili		
864	Shamash-bêl-usur		
863	Urta-iliai		
862	Urta-etiranni		
861	Urta (v., Assur)-iliai		
860	Nergal-iska-danin		
859	Tâb-Bêl when Shulman-asharidu (Shalmaneser) son of Assurnasirpal [took his seat on the throne]		
858	Sharru-baltu-nishê		[against Hamanu]
857	Shulman-asharid (Shalmaneser)	king of Assur	[against Bit-Adini]
856	Assur-bêl-ukin	field-marshal	[against Bit-Adini]

855	Assur-bunaia-usur	chief cup-bearer	[against Bit-Adini]
854	Abu-ina-ekalli-lilbur	high chamberlain	.....
853	Daiân-Assur	field-marshal	[against Hatte]
852	Shamash-abûa	governor of Nasibna	[against Til-Abni]
851	Shamash-bêl-usur	(governor) of Calah	[against Babylonia]
850	Bêl-bunaia	high chamberlain	[against Babylonia]
849	Hadi-lipushu	(governor) of	[against Carchemish]
848	Nergal-alik-pani	(governor) of	[against Hatte]
847	Bir-Ramana	[(governor) of	against Pakarhubuna]
846	Urta-mukîn-nishê	[(governor) of	against Iæti]
845	Urta-nâdin-shum	[(governor) of	against Hatte]
844	Assur-bunûa	[(governor) of	against Nairi]
843	Tâb-Urta	[(governor) of	against Namri]
842	Taklak-ana-sharri v., -Assur)	[(governor) of	against Hamanu]
841	Adad-riniani	[(governor) of	against Damascus]
840	Bêl-abûa (v., Sha- mash-)	(governor) of Ahi- [Suhina]	[against Kue]
839	Shulmu-bêl-lumur	(governor) of Rasappa	against [Kumuhi]
838	Urta-kibsi-usur	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Danabi
837	Urta-ilia	(governor) of Salmat	against Tabali
836	Kurdi-Assur	(governor) of [Kirruri]	against Melidi
835	Shêpâ-sharri	(governor) of Nineveh	against Namri
834	Nergal-mudammik	the abarakku	against Kue
833	Iahalu	(governor) of [Kakzi] against Kue	against Kue The great god went out from Dêr
832	Ululâia	(governor) of [Nasibina]	against Urartu (Armenia)
831	Nishpatî-Bêl	(governor) of [Calah]	against Unki
830	Nergal-ilia	(governor) of Arrapha	against Ulluba
829	Hubâia	(governor) of [Mazamua]	against Mannai
828	Ilu-mukîn-ahi	(governor) of	revolt
827	Shulman-asharidu (Shalmaneser)	king of Assyria	revolt
826	Dâian-Assur	[field-marshal]	revolt
825	Assur-bunâia-usur	[chief cup-bearer]	revolt
824	Iahallu	[abarakku]	revolt
823	Bêl-bunâia	[high chamberlain]	revolt
822	Shamshi-Adad	king of [Assyria]	against Sikris]
821	Iahalu	[field-marshal]	against Madai]
820	Bêl-daian	high chamberlain	against ... shumme
819	Urta-upahhir	[abarakku]	against Karne]
818	Shamash-ilia	[abarakku]	against Karne]
817	Nergal-ilia	[(governor) of Arrapha]	against Tille]
816	Assur-bana-usur	[chief cup-bearer]	against Tille]
815	Nishpatî-Bêl	(governor) of [Nasibina]	against Zarate
814	Bêl-balat	(governor) of [Calah] against Dêr	The great god went to Dêr
813	Mushiknish	(governor) of [Kirruri]	against Ahsana
812	Urta-asharid	(governor) of [Salmat]	against Chaldea
811	Shamash-kumûa	(governor) of Arrapha	against Babylonia
810	Bêl-kâta-sabat	(governor) of Mazamua	in the land
809	Adad-nirâri	[king] of Assyria	against Madai
808	Nergal-ilia	field-marshal	against Guzana
807	Bêl-daian	high chamberlain	against Mannai

806 Sil-bêl	chief cup-bearer	against Mannai
805 Assur-taklak	abarakku	against Arpadda
804 'Shamash-ilia	abarakku	against Hazazi
803 Nergal-êresh	(governor) of Rasappa	against Ba'li
802 Assur-baltu-nishe	(governor) of Arrapha	against the seacost. A plague
801 Urta-ilia	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Hubushkia
800 Shêpâ-Ishtar	(governor) of Nasibina	against Madai
799 Marduk-ishme- ani (?)	(governor) of Amedi	against Madai
798 Mutakkil-Marduk	Rab-shakê	against Lusia
797 Bêl-tarsi-iluma	(governor) of Calah	against Namri
796 Assur-bêl-usur	(governor) of Kirruri	against Mansuate
795 Marduk-shaddûa	(governor) of Salmat	against Dêr
794 Kîn-abûa	(governor) of Tushhan	against Dêr
793 Mannu-ki-Assur	(governor) of Guzana	against Madai
792 Mushallim-Urta	(governor) of Tillê	against Madai
791 Bêl-ikishani	(governor) of Mehi- nish (?)	against Hubushkia
790 Shêpâ-Shamash	(governor) of Isana	against Itu'a
789 Urta-mukîn-ahi	(governor) of Nineveh	against Madai
788 Adad-Mushammir	(governor) of Kakzi	against Madai
787 Sil-Ishtar	(governor) of [Arba- ilu?]	against Madai. Nabû en- tered the new temple
786 Balatu	(governor) of [Shiba- niba?]	
Nabû-shar-usur	(governor) of 'Rimusi'	against 'Kiskil
785 Adad-uballit	(governor) of 'Udnunna'	against Hubushkia. The great god went to Dêr
784 Marduk-shar-usur	(governor) of	against Hubushkia
783 Ninurta-nasir	(governor) of Mazamua	against Itu'
782 Nabû-li'	(governor) of Nasibina	against Itu'
781 Shulman-asharid (Shalmaneser)	king of Assyria	against Urarti
780 Shamshi-ilu	field-marshal	against Urarti
779 Marduk-rîmani	chief cup-bearer	against Urarti
778 Bêl-lishir	high chamberlain	against Urarti
777 Nabû-ishid-ukîn (v., Shamash-ishi- dia-ukîn)	abarakku	against Itu'
776 Pân-Assur-lamur	shaknu	against Urarti
775 Nergal-êresh	(governor) of Rasappa	against Erini
774 Ishtar-dûri	(governor) of Nasibina	against Urarti (and) Namri
773 Mannu-ki-Adad	(governor) of Salmat	against Damascus
772 Assur-bêl-usur	(governor) of Calah	against Hatarika
771 Assur-dân	king of Assyria	against Gananati
770 Shamshi-ilu	field-marshal	against Marrat
769 Bêl-ilia	(governor) of Arrapha	against Itu'
768 Aplia	(governor) of Mazamua	in the land
767 Kurdi-Assur	(governor) of Ahi-Su- hina	against Gananati
766 Mushallim-Urta	(governor) of Tillê	against Madai
765 Urta-mukîn-nishê	(governor) of Kirruri	against Hatarika. A plague

764 Sidki-ilu	(governor) of Tushhan	in the land
763 Bur (Ishdi)-Sagale	(governor) of Guzana	revolt in city of Assur. In the month of <i>Simānu</i> an eclipse of the sun took place
762 Tâb-Bêl	(governor) of Amedi	revolt in the city of Assur
761 Nabû-mukîn-ahi	(governor) of Nineveh	revolt in the city of Arrapha
760 Lakipu	(governor) of Kakzi	revolt in the city of Arrapha
759 Pân-Assur-lamur	(governor) of Arbailu	revolt in the city of Guzana. A plague against Guzana. Peace in the land
758 Bêl-taklak	(governor) of Isana	in the land
757 Urta-iddina	(governor) of Kurban	in the land
756 Bêl-shadûa	(governor) of Parnunna	in the land
755 Ikishu (v., Kîsu)	(governor) of Mehinish (?)	against Hatarika
754 Urta-shezibani	(governor) of Rimusi	against Arpadda. Return from the city of Assur
753 Assur-nirâri	king of Assyria	in the land
752 Shamshi-ilu	field-marshal	in the land
751 Marduk-shallimani	high chamberlain	in the land
750 Bêl-dân	chief cup-bearer	in the land
749 Shamash-kên-dugul	abarakku	against Namri
748 Adad-bêl-ukîn	shaknu	against Namri
747 Sin-shallimani	(governor) of Rasappa	in the land
746 Nergal-nâsir	(governor) of Nasibina	revolt in the city of Calah
745 Nabû-bêl-usur	(governor) of Arrapha	On the thirteenth day of the month of <i>Airu</i> Tiglath-pileser took his seat on the throne. In the month of <i>Tashritu</i> he marched to the territory between the rivers
744 Bêl-dân	(governor) of Calah	against Namri
743 Tukulti-apal-esharra (Tiglath-pileser)	king of Assyria	in the city of Arpadda. A massacre took place in the land of Urartu (Armenia)
742 Nabû-daninani	field-marshal	against Arpadda
741 Bêl-harran-bêl-usur	high chamberlain	against Arpadda. After three years it was conquered
740 Nabû-êtirani	chief cup-bearer	against Arpadda
739 Sin-taklak	abarakku	against Ulluba. The fortress was taken
738 Adad-bêl-ukîn	shaknu	Kulani was captured
737 Bêl-emurani	(governor) of Rasappa	against Madai
736 Urta-ilia	(governor) of Nasibina	To the foot of Mount Nâl
735 Assur-shallimani	(governor) of Arrapha	against Urarti
734 Bêl-dân	(governor) of Calah	against Philistia
733 Assur-daninani	(governor) of Mazamua	against the land of Damascus

732 Nabû-bêl-usur	(governor) of Si'mê	against the land of Damascus
731 Nergal-uballit	(governor) of Ahi-Suhina	against Sapia
730 Bêl-ludâri	(governor) of Tillê	in the land
729 Naphar-ilu	(governor) of Kirruri	The king took the hand of Bêl
728 Dûr-Assur	(governor) of Tushhan	The king took the hand of Bêl
727 Bêl-harran-bêl-usur	(governor) of Guzana Shalmaneser	against Damascus took his seat on the throne
726 Marduk-bêl-usur	(governor) of Amedi	in the land
725 Mahdê	(governor) of Nineveh	against [Samaria]
724 Assur-ishmeani	(governor) of 'Kakzi'	against [Samaria]
723 Shalmaneser	king of Assyria	against [Samaria]
722 Urta-ilia	'field-marshal'	[The foundation of the temple of Nabû was torn up (for repairs)]
721 Nabû-târis	[high chamberlain]	[Nabû entered the new temple]
720 Assur-iska-danin	[field-marshal]	against Tabala'
719 Sargon	king of 'Assyria'	The foundation of the [temple of Nergal] was torn up (for repairs)
718 Zêr-ibni	(governor) of Ra.....	against Mannai
717 Tâb-shar-Assur	'abarakku'	..... provinces were established
716 Tâb-sil-esharra	(governor) of Assur	..... Musasir of Haldia
715 Taklak-ana-bêl	(governor) of Nazibina	great in Ellipa
714 Ishtar-dûri	(governor) of Arrapha	Nergal entered the new temple
713 Assur-bâni	(governor) of Calah	against Musasir
712 Sharru-êmurani	(governor) of Zamua	in the land
711 Urta-âlik-pâni	(governor) of Si'mê	against Markasa
710 Shamash-bêl-usur	(governor) of 'Arzu-hina'	against Bêt-zêrnâid, the king of Kish.....
709 Mannu-ki-Assur-li'	(governor) of Tillê	Sargon took the hand of Bêl
708 Shamash-upahhir	(governor) of Kirruri	Kumuha was captured. A governor was appointed
707 Sha-Assur-dubbi	(governor) of Tushhan	The king returned from Babylon
706 Mutakkil-Assur	(governor) of Guzana	..... from the city of Dûr-Iakin brought out
705 Nashir-Bêl	(governor) of Amedi	The city of Dûr-Iakin was destroyed
704 Nabû-dîn-epush	(governor) of Nineveh	The gods entered into their temples
703 Kannunnai	(governor) of Kakzi	[The nobles] were in Karalli
702 Nabû-li'	(governor) of Arbailu	
701 Hananai	(governor) of .....bi	
700 Metunu	(governor) of Isana	
699 Bêl-sharani	(governor) of [Kurban]	
698 Shulmu-shar	(governor) of	

697	Nabû-dûr-usur	(governor) of
696	Shulmu-bêl	(governor) of Rimusa
695	Assur-bêl-usur	(governor) of
694	Ilu-ittia	(governor) of Damascus
693	Nâdin-ahê	(governor) of
692	Zazai	(governor) of Arpadda
691	Bêl-êmurani	(governor) of Carchemish
690	Nabû-mukin-ahi	(governor) of Samaria
	(v., Nabû-bêl-usur)	
689	Gihilu	(governor) of Hatarika
688	Nadin-ahê	(governor) of 'Simirra'
687	Sennacherib	king of Assyria
686	Bêl-êmuranni	(governor) of Calah
685	Assur-daninanni	(governor) of .....ub
684	Mannu-zirni (var., Man-zirnê)	(governor) of Kullania
683	Mannu-ki-Adad	(governor) of Supite
682	Nabû-shar-usur	(governor) of Markasi
681	Nabû-ah-êresh	(governor) of Samalli
680	Dananu	(governor) of 'Mansua'
679	Iti-Adad-aninu	(governor) of Magidunu
678	Nergal-shar-usur	chief cup-bearer
677	Abi-rama	high minister
676	Banbâ	second minister
675	Nabû-ahi-iddina	chief governor
674	Sharru-nûri	(governor) of Barhalzi
673	Atar-ilu	(governor) of Lahiri
672	Nabû-bêl-usur	(governor) of Dûr-Shar- rukîn
671	Kanunai	SAR-TINU-official
670	Shulmu-bêl-lashme	(governor) of Dêr
669	Shamash-kâshid-aibi	(governor) of Ashdod
668	Mar-larim	field-marshal
667	Gabbar	(governor) of
666	Kanunai	(governor) of Bît-eshshi
665	Mannu-ki-sharri	prefect of the land
664	Sharru-ludâri	(governor) of Dûr-Shar- rukîn
663	Bêl-nâid	field-marshal
662	Tâb-shâr-Sin	(governor) of Rasappa
661	Arbailai	
660	Gir-zapuna	
659	Simil-Assur	
658	Sha-Nabû-shu	
657	Lâbâsi	
656	Milki-râmu	
655	Amiânu	
654	Assur-nâsir	
653	Assur-ilai	
652	Assur-dûr-usur	
651	Sagabbu	
650	Bêl-harrân-shadûa	
649	Ahu-ilai	
648	Bêlshunu	

Appendix G

THE RULERS OF BABYLON AND PERSIA ACCORDING TO THE CANON OF PTOLEMY

BABYLON			Years of the	Years of the
Ruler		Years	Nabonassar Era	Christian Era
Nabonassar	Nabonassaros	14	1- 14	747-734 B.C.
Nabu-nadinzir	Nadius	2	15- 16	733-732
Ukinzer, Pulu	Chinziros and Poros	5	17- 21	731-727
Ululai	Iloulaios	5	22- 26	726-722
Marduk-appal-iddin	Mardokempados	12	27- 38	721-710
Sargon	Arkeanos	5	39- 43	709-705
.....	First Interregnum	2	44- 45	704-703
Bel-ibni	Belibos	3	46- 48	702-700
Assur-nadin-shum	Aparanadios	6	49- 54	699-694
Nergal-ushezib	Regebelos	1	55	693
Mushezib-Marduk	Mesessimordakos	4	56- 59	692-689
.....	Second Interregnum	8	60- 67	688-681
Assur-akh-iddin	Asaridinos	13	68- 80	680-668
Shamash-shum-ukin	Saosdouchinos	20	81-100	667-648
Kandalanu	Kineladanos	22	101-122	647-626
Nabopolassar	Nabopolassaros	21	123-143	625-605
Nebuchadnezzar	Nabocolassaros	43	144-186	604-562
Amel-Marduk	Illooroudamos	2	187-188	561-560
Nergal-shar-usur	Nerigasolassaros	4	189-192	559-556
Nabonidus	Nabonadios	17	193-209	555-539

PERSIA			Years of the	Years of the
Ruler		Years	Nabonassar Era	Christian Era
Cyrus		9	210-218	538-530
Cambyses		8	219-226	529-522
Darius I		36	227-262	521-486
Xerxes		21	263-283	485-465
Artaxerxes I		41	284-324	464-424
Darius II		19	325-343	423-405
Artaxerxes II		46	344-389	404-359
Ochus		21	390-410	358-338
Arses		2	411-412	337-336
Darius III		4	413-416	335-332

NOTE.—Ptolemy's canon was prepared primarily for astronomical, not historical, purposes. It did not pretend to give a complete list of all the rulers of either Babylon or Persia, nor the exact month or day of the beginning of their reigns, but it was a device which made possible the correct allocation into a broad chronological scheme of certain astronomical data which were then available. Kings whose reigns were less than a year and which did not embrace the New Year's day were not mentioned in the canon. The years are Egyptian years beginning with the first of Thoth, 747 B.C., which that year fell on February 27 and which every four years thereafter came one day earlier, till in 332 it fell on November 15.

Appendix H

ECLIPSES ESTABLISHING THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Date		Eponymy	Year of King	Year of the Nabonassar Era
June 15	763	Bur-Sagale	10th year of Assur-dan III	
March 19	721		1st year of Mardokempados	27
March 8	720		2d year of Mardokempados	28
Sept. 1	720		2d year of Mardokempados	28
April 22	621		5th year of Nabopolassar	127
July 14	568		37th year of Nebuchadnezzar	180
July 16	523		7th year of Cambyses	225
Nov. 19	502		20th year of Darius	246
April 25	491		31st year of Darius	257

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J U D A H Tishri to Tishri years	931	930	929	928	927	926	925	924	923	922	921	920
		Years since the disruption										
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		REHOBOAM 17 years										
accession-year reckoning		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
nonaccession-year reckoning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
ISRAEL Nisan to Nisan years	ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
		JEROBOAM 22 years										

	886	885	884	883	882	881	880	879	878	877	876	875	874	873
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
	24/1	2/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12/1	
	23/ac	1/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11/ac	
	OMRI 12 years total reign						OMRI king over all Israel						AHAB 38th o	
	ELAH 2 years		26th of Asa		ZIMRI 7 days		27th of Asa							
	TIBNI 1	2	3	4	5	6								

	839	838	837	836	835	834	833	832	831	830	829	828	827	826
					JOASH 40 years									
					7th of Jehu									
	3	4	5	6	7/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

	792	791	790	789	788	787	786	785	784	783	782	781	780	779
			AZARIAH coregent 52 years including coregency											
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
											Amaziah lived 15 years			
											1	2	3	
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16/ac	1	2	
	JEROBOAM II coregent 41 years including coregency										JEROBOAM II sole r			
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	

	931	930	929	928	927	926	925	924	923	922	921	920	919
		Years since the disruption											
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
J U D A H		REHOBOAM 17 years											
Tishri to Tishri years		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
accession-year reckoning		ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
nonaccession-year reckoning	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
I S R A E L		JEROBOAM 22 years											
Nisan to Nisan years													

	886	885	884	883	882	881	880	879	878	877	876	875	874	873	872
															J E H
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38
	24/1	2/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12/1	2	3
	23/ac	1/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11/ac	1	2
	OMRI 12 years total reign						OMRI king over all Israel				AHAB 22 years				
	ELAH 2 years						31st of Asa				38th of Asa				
	26th of Asa														
	ZIMRI 7 days														
	27th of Asa														
	TIBNI 1	2	3	4	5	6									

	839	838	837	836	835	834	833	832	831	830	829	828	827	826	825
					JOASH 40 years										
					7th of Jehu										
	3	4	5	6	7/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17

	792	791	790	789	788	787	786	785	784	783	782	781	780	779	778
			AZARIAH coregent 52 years including coregency												
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
			Amaziah lived 15 years after the												
			1	2	3	4									
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16/ac	1	2	3	4
	JEROBOAM II coregent 41 years including coregency										JEROBOAM II sole reign				
	15th of Amaziah														
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

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918	917	916	915	914	913	912	911	910	909	908	907	906	905	904	903	902
3	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
					ABIJAM 3 years 18th of Jeroboam			ASA 41 years 20th of Jeroboam								
3	14	15	16	17	18/1	2	3	4/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
12	13	14	15	16	17/ac	1	2	3/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22/1	2/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21/ac	1/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
								NADAB 2 years 2nd of Asa								
								BAASHA 24 years 3rd of Asa								

871	870	869	868	867	866	865	864	863	862	861	860	859	868	857	856	855
JHAPHAT coregent; 25 years	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
		JEHOSHAPHAT sole reign 4th of Ahab														
10	41	42/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
19	40	41/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

824	823	822	821	820	819	818	817	816	815	814	813	812	811	810	809	808
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28/1	2	3	4	5	6	7
										JEHOHAZ 17 years 23rd of Joash						

777	776	775	774	773	772	771	770	769	768	767	766	765	764	763	762	761
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ath of Jehoash of Israel II Ki				14:17										BUR-SAGALE Eclipse of Sun, Ju		
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	AZARIAH sole reign 27th of Jeroboam						
19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	3

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922	921	920	919	918	917	916	915	914	913	912	911	910	909	908	907	906
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	ABIJAM 3 years 18th of Jeroboam			ASA 41 years 20th of Jeroboam				
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17/ac	1	2	3/ac	1	2	3	4
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22/1	2	3	4	5
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21/ac	1	2	3	4
												NADAB 2 years 2nd of Asa				
												BAASHA 24 years 3rd of Asa				
875	874	873	872	871	870	869	868	867	866	865	864	863	862	861	860	859
			JEHOSHAPHAT coregent; 25 years including coregency													
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
						JEHOSHAPHAT sole reign 4th of Ahab										
36	37	38	39	40	41	42/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
35	36	37	38	39	40	41/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
10	11/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
			AHAB 22 years 38th of Asa													
828	827	826	825	824	823	822	821	820	819	818	817	816	815	814	813	812
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28/1	2	
														JEHOAHAZ 17 years 23rd of Joash		
781	780	779	778	777	776	775	774	773	772	771	770	769	768	767	766	765
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
ash lived 15 years after the death of Jehoash of Israel II Ki.								14:17								
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	AZARIAH sole reign 27th of Jeroboam		
16	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29/ac	1	2
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
OHOAM II sole reign of Amaziah																
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	

56

904	903	902	901	900	899	898	897	896	895	894	893	892	891	890	889
27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36						
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

857	856	855	854	853	852	851	850	849	848	847	846	845	844	843	842		
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Nonaccession-year reckoning								
				JEHORAM coregent					25	introduced into Judah							
				1	2	3	4	5	JEHORAM sole reign 8 years								
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	5th of Joram								
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27		
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33		
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32		
				AHAZIAH 2 years 17th of Jehoshaphat													
				JORAM 12 years 2nd of Jehoram 18th of Jehoshaphat													

810	809	808	807	806	805	804	803	802	801	800	799	798	797	796	795
														Judah returned accession-year AMAZIAH 29 y 2nd of Jehoash	
26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	37 17 ac	38	39/ac	1
												ac	1	2	3
												JEHOASH 16 years 37th of Joash			
												Israel adopted the accession-year system			

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19	918	917	916	915	914	913	912	911	910	909	908	907	906	905	904	903
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
						ABIJAM 3 years 18th of Jeroboam			ASA 41 years 20th of Jeroboam							
	13	14	15	16	17	18/1	2	3	4/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	12	13	14	15	16	17/ac	1	2	3/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22/1	2/1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21/ac	1/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6
									NADAB 2 years 2nd of Asa							
									BAASHA 24 years 3rd of Asa							

72	871	870	869	868	867	866	865	864	863	862	861	860	859	858	857	856
JEHOASHAPHAH coregent; 25 years					including coregency			9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8									
			JEHOASHAPHAH sole reign													
			4th of Ahab													
	40	41	42/1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	39	40	41/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
18																

25	824	823	822	821	820	819	818	817	816	815	814	813	812	811	810	809
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28/1	2	3	4	5	6
											JEHOIAH 17 years 23rd of Joash					

78	777	776	775	774	773	772	771	770	769	768	767	766	765	764	763	762
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
the death of Jehoash of Israel II Ki.					14:17											
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	AZARIAH sole reign 27th of Jeroboam					
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29/ac	1	2	3	4	5
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

	745	744	743	742	741	740	739
			in Arpad		ag. Arpad		ag. U
	TIGLATH-PILESER III			ag. Arpad		ag. Arpad	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Azariah	46	47	48	49	50	51	52
years of coregencies							
Jotham	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
							JOTHAM
JUDAH	AZARIAH						
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	7	8	9	10/ac	1	2/ac	
ISRAEL	MENAHEM			PEKAHIAH 2 years			PE
	Pekah accredited years			50th of Azariah			52
	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	Reigns and						
	JO						
	ac						
	P						
	52						

700	699	698	697	696	695	694	693	692
				MANASSEH coregent 55 years				
					1	2	3	4
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23

653	652	651	650	649	648	647	646	645
43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51
33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41

606	605	604	603	602	601	600	599	598
	Termination of reign of Nabopolassar in 143rd year of							
	NEBUCHADNEZZAR							
20	21/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Nebuchadnezzar put down a revolt in						Josephus	Ap.
	Palestine in the year of his accession							
	1st of Nebuchadnezzar = 4th of Jehoiakim Jer. 25:1							
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem in the							
	3rd year of Jehoiakim Dan. 1:1							
21	22	23	23 years from the 13th of Josiah					
	to the 4th of Jehoiakim Jer. 25:1,3							

18	737	736	735	734	733	732	731	730	729	728	727	726	725	724	723	722
lan:				ag. Philistia	ag. Damascus											
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	SHALMANESER V					SARGON
									16 years		19/ac	1	2	3	4	5/a
	14	15	16	(17)	(18)	(19)	↑	(20)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a reign			AHAZ coregent													
			17th of Pekah													
	2	3	4/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
2	3	4	5	6	7	8/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
ariah						HOSHEA 9 years							SIEGE OF SAMARIA			
4	15	16	17	18	19	20								7th of Hoshea	9th of Hoshea	10th of Hoshea
t ahead in Pattern Twelve-thirteen																
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
zariah																
1	690	689	688	687	686	685	684	683	682	681	680	679	678	677	676	675
g coregency	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
					MANASSEH sole reign											
	25	26	27	28	29/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
4	643	642	641	640	639	638	637	636	635	634	633	632	631	630	629	628
	53	54	55													
			AMON 2 years			JOSIAH 31 years										
	43	44	45/ac	1	2/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
7	596	595	594	593	592	591	590	589	588	587	586	585	584	583	582	581
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225										18th of Nebuchadnezzar = 10th of Zedekiah Jer. 3						
ZEDEKIAH 11 years										19th of Nebuchadnezzar = 11th of Zedekiah Jer.						
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
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PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
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JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
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										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
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										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
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of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
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										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem						
										X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8,						
PTIVITY OF JEHOIACHIN																
1-139; Ant. X. 219-225																
ZEDEKIAH 11 years																
JEHOIACHIN 3 months																
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11					
of Nebuchadnezzar = ac. of Jehoiachin II Ki. 24:12										SIEGE OF JERUSALEM						
										X/10/9=Jan. 15, 588 IV/9/11=July 19, 586						
										Temple burned V/17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15,						
										Word						

1	743	742	741	740	739	738	737	736	735	734	733	732	731	730	729	728
2	in Arpad	ag. Arpad	ag. Arpad	ag. Ulluba		Kullani			ag. Philistia	ag. Damascus						
3	SER III	ag. Arpad	ag. Arpad							ag. Damascus						
4	48	49	50	51	52	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
5	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	(17)	(18)	(19)	↑	ac	1	2
6																
7	24	25	26	27	28/ac	1	2	3	4/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8																
9	9	10/ac	1	2/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8/ac	1	2	3	4
10		PEKAHIAH 2 years			PEKAH											
11	redited years	50th of Azariah			52nd of Azariah											
12	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20				
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726	725	724	723	722	721	720	719	718	717	716	715	714	713				
LMANESER V					SARGON II					Eclipse of moon, March 19, 721 = 1st year of Mardokempados, 27th year of era of Nabonassar							
ac 1	2	3	4	5/ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9				
5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16						
											HEZEKIAH 29 yea 3rd of Hoshea II Ki						
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20/ac	1	2				
6	7	8	9	10													
				SIEGE OF SAMARIA 7th of Hoshea 9th of Hoshea													
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20										
							HOSHEA 20/ac 1 2 3 4 5 6										
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20th of Jotham 12th of Ahaz II Ki. 17:1										
679	678	677	676	675	674	673	672	671	670	669	668	667	666				
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30				
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20				
632	631	630	629	628	627	626	625	624	623	622	621	620	619				
						NABOPOLASSAR				Eclipse of moon Apr 5th of Nabopolassar							
						ac	1	2	3	4	5	6	7				
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20				
										WORD OF THE LORD CAME TO JEREMIAH 13th year of Josiah Jer. 25:3 23 years from the 13th of Josiah to the 4th of Jehoiakim							
										1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
585	584	583	582	581	580	579	578	577	576	575	574	573	572				
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33				
Nebuchadnezzar = 10th of Zedekiah Jer. 32:1											EZEKIEL'S VISION 1/10 25th year of the 14 years after Jerus						
Nebuchadnezzar = 11th of Zedekiah Jer. 52:12; II Ki. 25:2,3,8																	
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14					
IV/9/11=July 19, 586																	
17/19th of Nebuchadnezzar = Aug. 15, 586																	
Word reached Babylon that Jerusalem was taken Eze. 33:21																	
X/5/12th year of captivity = Jan. 8, 585																	
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26				
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26				

714	713	712	711	710	709	708	707	706	705	704	703	702	701	
Nabonassar				1st year of Sargon as King of Babylon = 13th year as King of Assyria K5280										
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	SENNACHERIB			3	4	
									17/ac	1	2			
39th year of era of Nabonassar										Third Campaign				
AH 29 years oshea II Ki. 18:1														
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
SIEGE OF SAMARIA														
4th of Hezekiah 6th of Hezekiah														
7th of Hoshea 9th of Hoshea														
5	6	7	8	9										
667	666	665	664	663	662	661	660	659	658	657	656	655	654	
	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	
619	618	617	616	615	614	613	612	611	610	609	608	607		
of moon April 22, 621 B. C														
ibopolassar	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
												JEHOAHAZ 3 months		
												JEHOIAKIM 11 years		
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31/ac	1	
H														
Jehoiakim Jer. 25:1,3														
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	
573	572	571	570	569	568	567	566	565	564	563	562	561	560	
Eclipse of moon July 4, 568										AMEL MARDUK				
37th year of Nebuchadnezzar														
32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43/ac			
L'S VISION OF THE CITY Eze.40:1										Jehoiachin released from prison				
h year of the captivity = April 18, 573										XII/27/ac. year of Amel Marduk =				
after Jerusalem was smitten										37th year of Jehoiachin's captivity =				
										March 21, 561				
										II Kings 25:27				
14														
	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37		
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36			